

THE USES OF U. C. BERKELEY : Research



R.S.U.

50¢

Table of Contents

Preface-----	1
Introduction-----	3
The Regents-----	7
President Hitch-----	11
Research Funds-----	13
Agribusiness-----	14
IDA at Cal-----	20
Chemical & Biological Warfare-----	21
Regents Chart-----	28
Atomic Energy Commission-----	30
Center for the Study of Law and Society----	33
Institute for International Education-----	34
Institute for International Studies-----	36
Appendix A: Berreman's First Letter-----	43
Appendix B: Berreman's Second Letter----	45
Conclusion-----	52

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ERRATUM: Line]0 of the Conclusion should read: ...when the University's

president and over half its budget comes to us direct from the Federal

Government

Preface

The motto of the university which was instrumental in the production of the atomic bomb was: Let Knowledge Grow From More to More, that Human Life May Be Enriched. This inscription is the legacy of three decades of faith in progress. It is the reflection of men who believed both in Bacon and Socrates--that knowledge is power and also virtue. But there is also the voice of the prophet--"They are wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge."

The announcement of the College of Letters and Science at the University of California at Berkeley contends that:

"The fundamental aim of the College is to increase man's understanding of nature and of himself. To achieve this understanding, students should have a comprehension of abstract thought, an appreciation of the structure of ideas, a feeling for style, and a basis for forming value judgments."

Those who ran the concentration camps at Dachau knew a great deal about nature and themselves, and the German officer corps was staffed by men as familiar with Beethoven's late quartets as the means of their own destructiveness. Did they possess the "comprehension, appreciation," "feeling," and evaluative "basis" of which the announcement speaks? If there was something they lacked, how shall we define it? The announcement continues to note that the student is "required to explore the significant broad fields of human knowledge the humanities, that he may possess an awareness of the intellectual achievements of mankind; the natural sciences, that he may awaken his interest in the nature of the world and its inhabitants; and the social sciences, that he may attain a disciplined approach to the problems of individuals and society."

The ideological root of liberalism is its commitment to neutrality. The conception of a marketplace of ideas is grounded in the belief that by providing the widest possible arena for conflicting alternatives men are being granted the knowledge and opportunity for choice from which their own responsible decisions will follow. In the course of choosing it is expected that they will realize their capacities and fulfill themselves as human beings. Certainly this was Mill's belief--except in those dark passages in On Liberty where he notes the growth of conformity and mass mediocrity and senses that his argument for freedom has been swept away. For if men cannot grow through their knowledge and their choice, what reason can Mill offer for granting social freedom?

What does it mean to gain a "disciplined approach to the problems of individuals and societies?" Does it imply that one can recognize a problem, that is, locate the situation that requires correction? Does it imply that one can distinguish between a solution--a moral resolution of the difficulty--and the mere repression of the difficulty? But what are the criteria for such awareness and how shall the knowledge of them be acquired in a mere neutral setting? If the university can grade students on their comprehension of "the intellectual achievements of mankind" why cannot it not grade them on their awareness of a "disciplined approach to the problems of individuals and societies?" But then, it is not mandatory for the university to know what constitutes a genuine social problem and its resolution; and how is this knowledge compatible with neutralism?

The university has met these moral difficulties by constituting itself the technical apparatus for the achievement of socially directed aims. This is clearly not its entire function, but in the present age, it is the most fateful of its roles. It will be objected that the university permits dissent against established institutions and is engaged in the disinterested pursuit of knowledge. But no person familiar with the intellectual structure of modern American universities can possibly believe that they provide a home for dissent in anything like the manner in which they embrace such views as are compatible with the basic patterns of social power. The university contains scattered remnants of opposition; but such power as this critical force possesses is precarious, and won against large and increasingly blatant suppression. Nor can it be stressed too forcefully that it is not the abstract existence of a view but the control over the media of social power that permit conceptions and ideals to be translated into action, that controls the nature of life. Knowledge is power only as it proceeds through the established media of social control.

The ideal of disinterested knowledge has always been ambiguous. If it implies the suspension of moral judgment while one proceeds to inquire, it rests upon a failure to note that the act of inquiry is itself a commitment of the agent for which he is responsible. If it implies that any and all knowledge is equally valid, it is clearly absurd. If it suggests that knowing is always the most important thing a man can do, it is mistaken again. And if it implies that we are in no way responsible for the consequences of our knowledge, it is a view which not only lacks intellectual merit, but is the conduit to social disaster.

In letters dated September 3 and September 10 Professors L. LeCam and J. Neyman were notified by the Army and the Office of Naval Research that the renewal of their research contracts was being questioned or terminated. The reason given was that these statisticians had signed an advertisement in the Notices of the American Mathematical Society which read in part: "We urge you to regard yourselves as responsible for the uses to which your talents are put. We believe this responsibility forbids putting mathematics in the service of this cruel war." The authors of the advertisement were themselves practitioners of pure, unclassified research in statistics. But the Army letter notifying them of the decision to terminate the long relationship between them contained the following remarkable statement: "The results of your efforts have been utilized by the Army in various activities related to the current conflict in Vietnam including your regression procedures as applied to ammunition and ballistics problems." Even good men are implicated beyond their intention. In the 19th century the distinction between pure and applied research was meaningful. But as the preceding passage notes, there is continuously less assurance that the most abstract and "pure" intellectual research will remain unutilized by those whose predominant interest is exploitation and destruction. The distinction between knowledge and its application has been rendered pragmatically irrelevant by the growth of centralized technological power with the competence and motive to digest all the artifacts of reason and the achievements of men for the sake of domination. In this context there are only two alternatives: the refusal to jeopardize one's neutrality by denying one's work to those who might employ it for evil, or the concerted social endeavor to revolutionize the organs of power so that they are made wholly responsive to the vast majority of men, whose interest is truly that knowledge grow, that human life may be enriched.

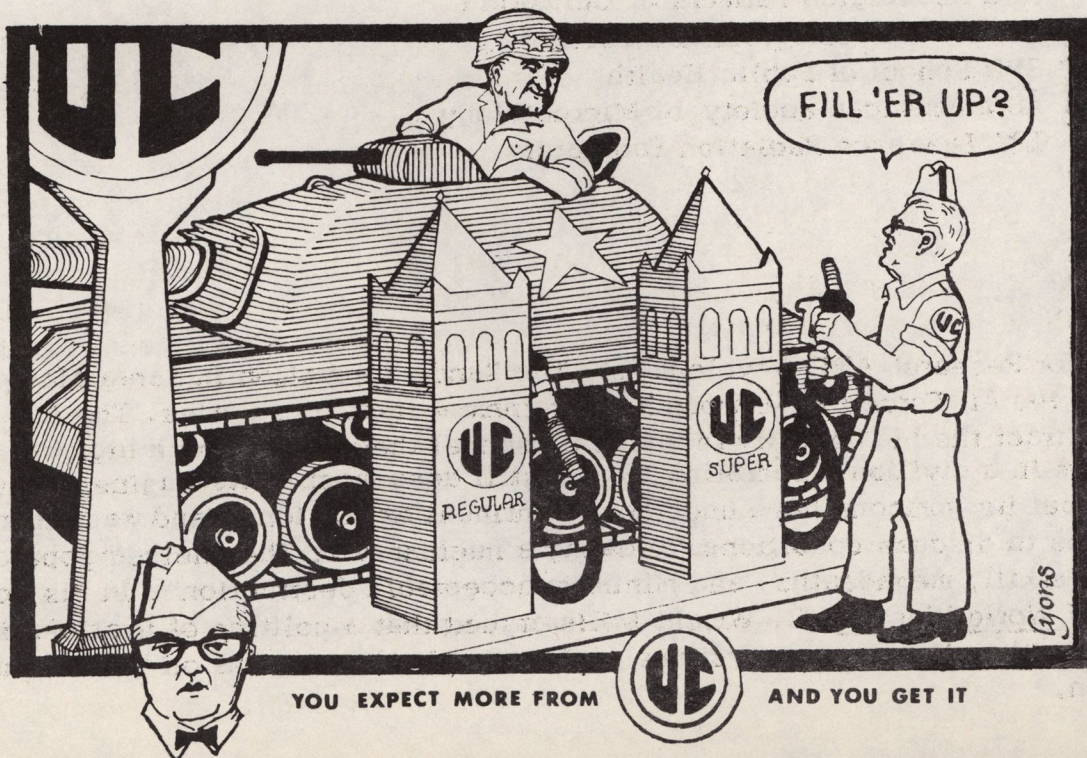
Richard Lichtman

Asst. Professor of Philosophy

Introduction

The purpose of this pamphlet is to investigate the uses of the University, and especially the uses of this university. The idyllic image of the university as a value-free ivory tower, secluded from the vagaries of the work-a-day world, where humble, learned men can explore wisdom together and seek the truths of human existence has long since vanished. Clark Kerr did not create the Multiversity or the notion that it is a "service station for society;" he merely recognized what had already come into being. The Multiversity does exist and function, and its purpose is indeed to provide services. The intent of this study is to show whom it serves and in what ways.

The booklet begins with an investigation of the university's governing body. We demonstrate that the Regents are business-dominated and how, through their corporate interests, they bind the academy to the "real" world of capitalism. Then follows a brief sketch of the background of the man the Regents chose for the highest post in the university, which shows how he links the university to the murky world of the Defense establishment. That is followed by an investigation of how the research of the university's agricultural sector serves the interests of the agricultural industry, and how agri-business is related to the university and to the Board of Regents. A brief study of the university's long-standing affiliation with the Institute for Defense Analyses, and an investigation of particularly outrageous research in biology, chemistry, and nuclear physics explains who sponsors the research, who uses it, and for what purpose. Finally, there is a similar investigation of social science research particularly in the Institute for International Studies. Those who cannot conceive of military use of social science research and who have never seen "classified" emblazoned on an army-financed political science paper will become quickly disillusioned.



What emerges from this material is a view of the university as a pliant tool of industrial and government interests, as a finely-honed instrument whose function is to perpetuate the social and economic order of the present society, enhancing the interests of the few at the expense of the many. The conclusion that follows is an attempt to deal with the material presented in a way that accounts for the effect of the relationship between industry, government, and the university on the society they represent and on the university as a vital institution of that society.

The scope of this booklet is obviously limited; it deals primarily with the uses of university research and development, and it only deals in a preliminary way with those areas easiest to penetrate. No doubt a great deal could be learned about the training function of the university's channeling and training of the thousands who leave it after only four years, and of the personal effects of the university's mammoth institutional structure on those who live within and around that structure. Such topics will require further study. Nevertheless, the material presented here should be sufficient to dispel spoon-fed myths of the value-free, neutral university. The myths dispelled, we can begin to deal with the university and the society it helps to control from a knowledge about the way the society works, and how the university works for it.

Explanations of terms used and organizations referred to :

AEC Atomic Energy Commission
 ONR Office of Naval Research
 IIE Institute for International Education
 IIS Institute for International Studies
 NSF National Science Foundation
 NASA National Aeronautical and Space Administration
 HEW Health, Education, and Welfare
 CFBF California Farm Bureau Federation
 AFC Associated Farmers of California
 NBL Naval Biological Laboratory
 SPH School of Public Health
 ASM American Society of Microbiology
 LRL Lawrence Radiation Laboratory

RAND

RAND stands for Research AND Development. The Rand Corporation in Santa Monica was set up by the Air Force to get around a government limit on salaries. The Air Force could attract the high quality research personnel they desired with high salaries, and house them in a civilian corporation. RAND still does most of its business with the Air Force but its horizons have undergone continual expansion. Rand was among the first groups to discuss conditions following a nuclear war. They helped popularize terms like "overkill, megadeaths, and minimum acceptable destruction". In his book, The Causes of World War III, C. Wright Mills argued that a politics of irrationality was developing from the ultra-modern systems analysts and other experts on the destruction of civilization.

IDA - Institute for Defense Analyses

The Institute was established in 1955 to procure civilian scientists for the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG) of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is now a non-profit corporation with 12 member universities. It serves as "a means by which individuals from universities can come to grips with major problems of national security", and "by which the government can reach deeper and more accurately into a great store of scientific knowledge and technical skill". (IDA Fourth Annual Report, 1959). IDA now produces for the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Defense Department, the National Security Agency, the State Department, the Office of Civil Defense, and the Federal Aviation Agency, as well as WSEG. IDA's Jason Division is a special program set up to involve academic scientists in the solution of military problems without taking them from the preferred environment on the campus. Given the conditions of the Cold War, IDA has mainly been involved in counter-insurgency research with special concentration on Vietnam - though research, weapons and equipment are being produced and tested for Northeastern India, Panama, and Bolivia. IDA has recently begun to apply its resources to the American city, adapting itself for a new role in counter-insurgency. IDA has obvious advantages for the military; its attractiveness to the academy is equally pragmatic. For the institution, Defense means funds; for the professor, it means a demand for his product in the market of the knowledge industry - the primary means of measuring his worth.

The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation has several links with the University of California. The Foundation maintains representatives in many Asian countries who direct its varied activities abroad. In this country the Asia Foundation spreads information on Asia by publishing books and articles and by training teachers.

"In its efforts to help strengthen and develop Asian educational, cultural and community institutions, the Asia Foundation has the very substantial benefit of active co-operation and advice from other American and international organizations. The contribution that the Foundation can make is greatly increased therefore through the experience and intellectual and material resources of many other American associations and institutions." (The Asia Foundation Program Bulletin)

One such cooperative venture is the annual grant, usually \$2500 each, given to 23 American professional organizations. "In most cases these programs help Asian scholars who are in the United States participate in regional or national meetings of the Association, expand distribution of professional journals to Asian individuals and make it possible for scholars on Asia to obtain membership in the American association at reduced cost." Some of these are the American Anthropological Association, American Chemical Society, American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, American Sociological Association, Asia Society, and the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers.

The board of the Foundation reads like a military-industrial scandal sheet: Grayson Kirk of Columbia, IBM, and Socony Mobil; R.G. Follis, former Board Chairman of Standard Oil of California; Russell G. Smith, former Executive Vice-President of the Bank of America; Ellsworth Bunker (on leave as Ambassador to South Vietnam - the Foundation claims to be nonpolitical); Robert B. Anderson, former Secretary of the Treasury; Mortimer Fleischhacker, Jr., a manufacturing executive in San Francisco; Charles Hitch, Presiden

of the University of California; and Mrs. Maurice T. Moore, whose husband is a trustee at Columbia.

But the most telling information on the Asia Foundation concerns its activities inside Asian countries and its link to the CIA. The account which follows is taken directly from the New York Times.

April, 1962 - The new government of Burma forbade the Asia Foundation from sending advisors.

March 22, 1966 - The Foundation received CIA funds, but it issued a press release admitting only that funds had been received from federal sources. It refused to release the amount of the funds while stating that they would no longer take money from "hidden" Federal sources. According to the Foundation's statement the primary use of the funds was for educational projects.

Sept 24, 1966 - The Indian government ordered a complete freeze on the activities of the Asia Foundation in India, while it reviewed the case "at the highest levels."

March 24, 1967 - Ramnath Umanath, a member of the Indian Parliament charged that the CIA was using certain organizations to influence Indian life - among them was the Asia Foundation.

February 15, 1968 - The Indian government banned the Asia Foundation from India. The Foundation finally admitted that it had accepted funds from foundations and trusts (conduits) supported by the CIA. It then pledged that it would accept no more CIA money. The Indian government refused to grant an import license for the Asia Foundation's books.

February 27, 1968 - The State Department asked Congress for more than \$3 million to support future operations of the Asia Foundation. Since 1966 the Foundation has distributed some 1620 grants worth \$8.5 million.

Security Clearances

The Berkeley Chapter of the Academic Senate has a policy against Classified Research on the Berkeley campus. Classified Research is generally available only to investigators who have gained security clearances, i.e. their backgrounds have been searched and found free of whatever taints our government fears. There have been cases where men have not been able to read their own papers since their security clearances, which are of several degrees, have been too low.

One such rating is the "P" clearance referred to in the famous Chamberlain Report to the Academic Senate of May, 1967, which recommended that no "classified" research be accepted in the future. This report points out that while security clearances are not required at the Naval Biological Laboratory in Oakland, virtually everyone working there has one - a subtle distinction.

But material which is unclassified is not necessarily any more available to the public. Many documents are printed in limited numbers which are given only to a chosen few. This type of rating is called "restricted". In effect, a restricted document might as well be classified since it does not contribute to the free flow of knowledge the 1967 resolution of the Academic Senate was designed to protect. One difficulty in searching out classified and restricted information is that its very existence may be classified or restricted. Thus the very projects one might wish to investigate, those which would seem to be the most suspect, are also those which are the last to be discovered and understood unless lucky accidents drop information into the hands of someone not bound by an oath of secrecy. Even in such cases information cannot always be used because of the danger of compromising the source of the information.

The Regents

"I dealt in everything I could make a profit in, in the good old American way."

--Regent Edwin Pauley, 1947, Senate Subcommittee

By law, the Regents have absolute control over all aspects of the University--financing, construction, and administration. They set policy and establish procedures which direct the operation of the various campuses. The Regents are also tightly intertwined with business and other institutions which dominate this society. In fact, these connections are the Regents' only distinguishing characteristic. None of the twenty-four except Max Rafferty, whose deficiencies in the field have become legendary, are educators by profession. Instead the Regents concretely represent the link between the University as an intellectual institution and as a servomechanism of military-industrial empire; the Regents use their University to satisfy the needs of the industrial, military, and governmental interests which they represent.

This section attempts to document the types of interests represented by the Regents and to discuss the services these interests require--the research and personnel they need to function. It should become clear that the Regents are following Mr. Pauley's advice by using the resources of the University for the benefit of the corporate elite they belong to and represent.

As of December 10, 1968, the following served on the Board of Regents. The eight ex-officio members were Governor Ronald Reagan, Lt. Governor Ed. Reinecke, who replaced Robert Finch when the latter joined the Nixon administration, Speaker of the Assembly Monagan, Max Rafferty, Allan Grant of the State Board of Agriculture, Charles Hitch, President of the University, James Q. Brett, President of the Mechanics' Institute who replaced Theodore R. Meyer, and Roger C. Pettitt, President of the Alumni Association of the University. The sixteen appointed Regents, (appointed by the Governor for 16 years, date of expiration follows name) are Edwin W. Pauley (1970), Edward W. Carter (1982, Brown juggled appointments to extend Carter's tenure), William French Smith (1970, replaced Dorothy Chandler who resigned), Mrs. Randolph A. Hearst (1974), Samuel B. Mosher (1972, Mosher resigned because of ill health after this list was printed), John E. Canaday (1974), Philip L. Boyd (1972), Norton Simon (1976), William E. Forbes (1978), William M. Roth (1980), Mrs. Edward H. Heller (1976, vice-chairman), Frederick G. Dutton (1978), William K. Coblentz (1980), DeWitt A. Higgs (1982, chairman), H.R. Haldeman (1984, resigned to join Nixon administration), and W. Glenn Campbell (1984). Dean A. Watkins was appointed to finish Haldeman's term; Robert O. Reynolds replaced Mosher.

Those Regents who resigned within the last few months are included in this study since the object is to show the type of connections in the Board rather than to detail the connections at any one time. Recently the stock portfolio of the Regents was released. Most of the interesting information such as details of buying and selling shares was not released; however, investments in companies with known Regent connections have been correlated. Numbers which follow the names of particular corporations are the amounts of these investments in terms of their market value. All are common stock unless otherwise stated.

Finance

Philip Boyd and Norman Chandler (husband of Dorothy) are both directors of the Security Pacific National Bank (\$560,000) which resulted from a merger of Security First and Pacific National Banks. The bank has six subsidiaries in finance. Edward Carter is a director of Western Bancorporation (\$785,000) which owns 24 banks in 11 Western states. S.F. Hale, a director of Broadway-Hale Stores of which Carter is President, is also a director of Western Bancorporation as is John A. McCone, former director of the CIA. John Canaday is a director of First Surety Corporation (\$159,000). Otis Chandler (son of Dorothy) is a director of Union Bank. Mrs. Edward Heller and Dean Watkins are directors of the Stanford Bank. Robert Reynolds is a director of Commonwealth Assurance Company, Chubb Corporation, and of Pacific Indemnity Co. which is owned by Chubb along with nine other insurance companies including two in Belgium and Venezuela. On the Board of Pacific Indemnity with Reynolds sit P.T. Sinclair, President of Crown-Zellerbach Corporation (\$570,000) and F.M. Banks, chairman of the Southern California Gas Company which is owned by Pacific Lighting Co. (\$700,000) on which Regent William French Smith sits. Samuel Mosher's Signal Companies owns Arizona Bancorporation.

Power, Oil, Natural Gas

William French Smith is Reagan's personal lawyer. Pacific Lighting Corporation, on whose board he sits, is the largest gas system in the country with over three million active meters in homes and industry. Pacific Lighting has four subsidiaries including Southern California Gas Company (\$700,000-bonds) and Southern Counties Gas Company of California (\$250,000-bonds) which supply gas to Los Angeles, San Bernadino, Kern Riverside, Kings, Tulare, Fresno, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Imperial, Orange, and San Luis Obispo counties. They sell wholesale to San Diego Gas and Electric and the City of Long Beach. Edward Carter is a director of Southern California Edison (\$2,201,000). Samuel Mosher is chairman of Signal Companies (\$207,000). Signal has 58 subsidiaries, mostly oil companies and related industries like Mack Trucks, Inc. Signal's holdings operate in about 15 states, Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Edwin Pauley is president and chairman of Pauley Petroleum, Inc. (\$111,000-bonds).

Agribusiness

Edward Carter is a director of Del Monte Foods with nine subsidiaries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the West Indies and Latin America, 13,000 acres of land in Latin America. Carter is also a trustee of the Irvine Foundation which owns the Irvine Ranch, which owns 20% of Orange County. Carter's partner (in Broadway-Hale), P.C. Hale, is a director of the grape-struck DiGiorgio Company which controls almost a score of food, produce, and lumber companies coast-to-coast. Robert DiGiorgio sits on Broadway-Hale. At Davis, the University is busy developing a grape-picking machine for Mr. DiGiorgio. Norton Simon is Chairman of Norton Simon, Inc. (\$2,000,000) which owns Hunt Foods and Canada Dry. Chancellor Roger Heyns is a director of Norton Simon, Inc. Norman Chandler is vice-President of the Tejon Ranch Co. which owns 293,000 acres in the San Juaquin Valley, on which cattle are raised, feed is grown, and oil is produced. Mr. Chandler is also a director of Safeway Stores. William Forbes is a director of Bell Brand Foods.

The Chandlers control Times-Mirror Company; Norman is Chairman, Dorothy is a Vice-President, and Otis is a Vice-President and Director. Former UCLA Chancellor Franklin Murphy is also an officer of the company. Times-Mirror has 21 subsidiaries including a feature syndicate with eighty columns, Popular Science publishing company, the Los Angeles Times, New-American Library (Mentor and Signet), several paper companies, a bookbindery, World Publishing Company (leading publisher of the Bible) and various specialty printing firms. Norton Simon Inc. owns McCall's Publishing Company which publishes McCall, Redbook, and Saturday Review and prints at its plants, Argosy, Glamor, Mademoiselle, Journal of the American Medical Association, Progressive Farmer, Newsweek, Popular Science (for Chandlers), Reader's Digest, U.S. News & World Report, and Scholastic Publications. The Hearst Corporation owns Avon Paperbacks, four radio and television stations, nine newspapers including the San Francisco Examiner, King Features Syndicate, Hearst Headline Service, Eye Magazine, Cosmopolitan Good Housekeeping, Harper's Bazaar, House Beautiful, Popular Mechanics, Town & Country, Motor, Motor Boating, Sports Afield, and Bride and Home. Otis Chandler is a director of the Associated Press.

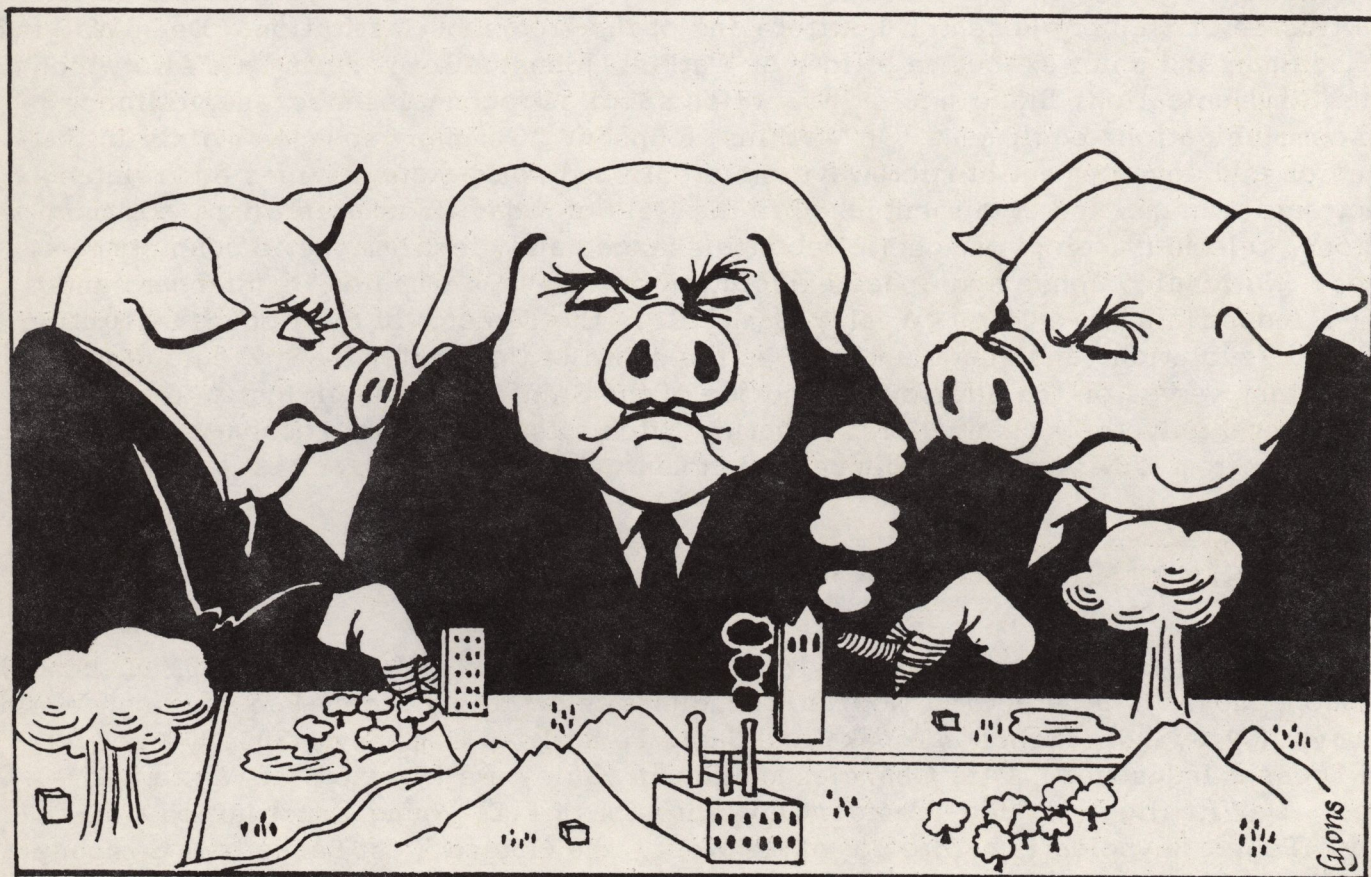
Defense

John Canaday was Vice-President of Lockheed (\$858,000) an aerospace firm with nine subsidiaries in Switzerland, Australia, Hong Kong, Germany, Canada, Panama and the Bahamas. Canaday still maintains a connection with the company. Edward Carter is a trustee of Stanford Research Institute and of the Brookings Institution. Dean Watkins is Chairman and chief executive officer of Watkins-Johnson Company in Palo Alto which owns Communications Electronics, Inc. which supplies reconnaissance, surveillance and communications equipment. On Watkins-Johnson, "Company engages mainly in the research and development of microwave electronic and solid-state devices and related electronic systems and equipment used in the field of radar, instrumentation, communications, telemetry, electromagnetic reconnaissance, and electromagnetic countermeasures. National Defense and Space exploration provide 75% of sales." (Standard and Poor's Industrials, p. 9049) Wesley Campbell is the Director of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace and sits on the board of the Center for Strategic Studies. Allan Grant serves on the advisory committee of the Stanford Research Institute along with several university chancellors. Charles Hitch sits on the Asia Foundation, IDA, and comes from RAND and the Defense Department.

Industry

Edward Carter is President of Broadway-Hale Stores, Inc. (\$893,000; \$300,000-bonds); Theodore Meyer is a Director. Norman Chandler sits on Kaiser Steel, Pan American World Airways (\$210,000), AtchesonTopeka and Sante Fe Railway Company (\$385,000-bonds), and Dresser Industries. Otis Chandler and Edwin Pauley are Directors of Western Airlines. DeWitt Higgs is Vice-President and Director of F.E. Young Construction Company. Robert Reynolds is a Director of Air West, the Golden West Basketball Company (California Angels), and is also President, Vice-President and Director of the Los Angeles Rams, and a member of the major league executive committee. Norton Simon used to be Chairman of Wheeling Steel and is still a Director of Crucible Steel and Northern Pacific Railroad.

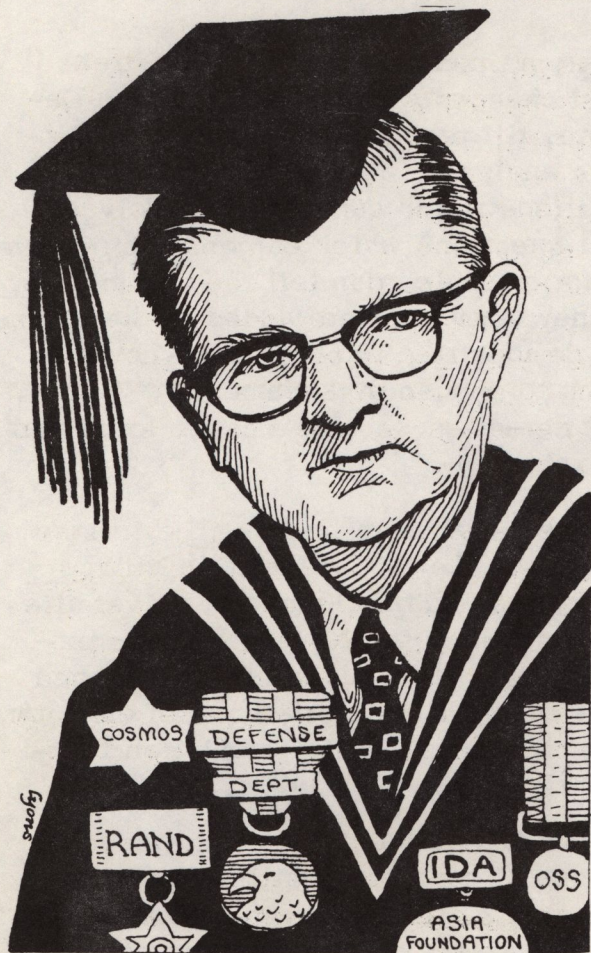
The case is clear. The Regents and their associates own and operate the State of California. At many points the Regents plug into national lines of power which extend cross-country. To maintain such a system an army of personnel and a research and development program are necessary. Industry, Government, the Military, and independent research groups need managers and executives, technologists, lower-level bureaucrats, researchers and so forth. By and large these are freely supplied by Universities. In fact, a case can be made that the requirements of these institutions profoundly influence the academic requirements of the university. Businesses with foreign markets and sources of raw materials demand social, political and economic stability abroad. Here again public institutions like the University and the Government offer gratis service. Stability at home is precisely the same. In some cases, the university even performs technological research at no cost such as in the case of the grape industry. For years the University studied techniques for controlling farm workers, braceros, and agricultural production. Now that the workers are restless the University is meeting the demand with a grape-picking machine. No one is concerned with the ethical question of conflict of interest in the Board of Regents. The Regents represent a unanimity of interest which is reflected in virtually every aspect in the University.



President Hitch

President Charles J. Hitch sits on the Board of Regents and is ultimately responsible for implementing their decisions. Often he formulates those decisions; for example, it was President Hitch who suggested the final form of the resolution which denied credit to Eldridge Cleaver's Social Analysis 139X and who refused to boycott grapes. Because of his crucial role in determining and carrying out the activities of the university, it is highly relevant to ask what talents and experience Mr. Hitch brings to his position; presumably these were the reasons for his appointment.

Hitch began his career in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II.



The OSS later married the State Department and changed its name to CIA. Hitch helped develop operations research. Next he became chief economist of the RAND corporation, a post he held for sixteen years. He specialized in the development of cost/efficiency analysis. In a RAND publication entitled "Economics and Military Operations Research," Hitch discusses the problem of sea convoys in World War II. Original studies showed that fewer merchant vessels were sunk using large convoys. Hitch shows that, in cost terms, smaller convoys would have been more economical despite the sinkings of more ships. Never, however, does he discuss which method would have saved more lives. While at RAND Hitch also wrote his most important book, Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age, the Bible of the Pentagon, and articles such as "The Character of Research and Development in a Competitive Economy," "National Security Policy as a Field for Economic Research," and, appropriately, "The Uses

of Economics." As a result MacNamara appointed Hitch Assistant Secretary of Defense in charge of budgets and efficiency or Comptroller. The New York Times called Hitch, "The biggest spender in the capitalist world."

The overwhelming public relations campaign on the MacNamara Defense era claimed that civilians had reasserted control over the military. What actually happened was that petty inter-service rivalries which hampered the operations of Defense were eliminated partly by instituting department-wide planning as in the case of the F-111. Because of the decisions Hitch made and the "methods" he created and used, particularly his five-year plans, the United States is still saddled with a legacy of policies. Hitch and his RAND philosophy, which C. Wright Mills called the politics of irrationality, are responsible for the following:

1. A counterforce/ABM (anti-ballistic missile) strategy committing us to an endless nuclear arms race.
2. A reliance on "limited wars" like Vietnam to settle international "police" conflicts without recourse to nuclear weapons.
3. The notion that our survival depends on the speed and efficiency of our weapons. Hitch therefore developed the idea of the program package and the program element. A Weapons System like a wing of B-52's is a program element.
4. The harnessing of the intellectual, scientific, and economic resources of universities and corporations to the Defense machine. He developed five-year package plans which insured decreased civilian control over the military because they began long-term irrevocable commitments.
5. The idea that the above techniques can be used no matter what the desired results, that is the same methods can be used to analyze and allocate resources for nuclear war, limited war, or education.

Although Hitch's book claims that economic analysis can be used to demonstrate preferences in policy and action in Defense, he had changed while in the Defense Department to the attitude of value-free "neutrality" he still parades today when buying grapes. Hitch said that with his method of systems analysis, all the systems analyst could do was to "free the decision-maker from questions which can best be resolved through analysis leaving to him those more difficult questions which can only be resolved on the basis of judgement. The systems analyst, for example, can tell the decision-maker how many targets would be destroyed if 200 new bombers were added to the planned force and how much they would cost; he can rarely demonstrate whether they should or should not be added." Such an analysis leads Hitch to oppose disarmament. "We must bear in mind that the more extensive a disarmament agreement is, the smaller force that a violator would have to hide in order to achieve domination."

Although Hitch has now left RAND and the Defense Department he is still a trustee of the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), according to the 1968-69 edition of Who's Who in the West. IDA is a clearinghouse for military research performed at universities. Hitch is also a trustee of the infamous Asia Foundation which the New York Times exposed as a recipient of substantial amounts of CIA funds. The Foundation was banned from operating in India and Burma in the early 1960's because of interference in the internal affairs of those countries. President Hitch is still active in Asia Foundation functions according to the society page of the Oakland Tribune.

Clearly, Hitch's knowledge and connections make him an ideal administrator for an institution which plays a large role in the performance of contracted military research and in training personnel for the military. Hitch is well suited to link the university with the nationally-oriented defense corporations on the west coast. Defense work is not limited to the physical sciences. Counter-insurgency and policed urban tranquility are increasingly concerns of "modern" social scientists. Military economist and "Defense intellectual" Charles J. Hitch is well-equipped to oversee such work. His success can be measured by the extent to which military, cost/efficiency considerations increasingly dominate the life of the university. President Hitch is a disturbingly successful man.

Research Funds

"One of the quickest ways to lose a faculty member is by refusing to accept the grant he has negotiated with his counterpart in Washington." - Clark Kerr

Few would argue that the source of funds for a research project is as important as the content of the project. However, a dependence on a few large sources of funds can have a profound effect on what sort of work is done without awkwardly dictating to scholars what subject to study and without violating their "academic freedom". A large centralized funding agency can channel its money into areas of its own choosing and therefore force scholars into those areas in order to be funded. Certain areas are never funded and, thus, rarely studied.

Financial aid for original research, restricted funds as they appear in the university's budget report, is almost exclusively provided for by the U.S. government. In the Natural and Physical Sciences this amount is nearly 90% of all research grants. In the major social sciences (Anthropology, Economics, Geography, History, Political Science and Sociology), they amount to nearly 70%.

Berkeley Campus Income (1967-68)

Atomic Energy Commission.....	\$ 777,037
Dept. of Agriculture.....	1,032,929
Dept. of Air Force.....	1,555,957
Dept. of Army.....	633,057
Dept. of Navy.....	3,212,190
Dept. of HEW.....	6,405,000
N.A.S.A.....	7,581,000
N.S.F.....	8,545,379
Public Health Service.....	13,498,228
Other.....	3,451,731
Total.....	\$46,692,737

This total of 46 million compares to the total expenditures of the Berkeley campus of 139 million, which is concerned with total upkeep of the university plant, salaries, etc. Organized research on campus accounts for about 70 million dollars. It is clear that federal agencies account for about 75% of all research on this campus. This brief study does not even consider funds from Ford, Rockefeller, and other private foundations concerned with maintaining the prevalent hegemony of this system. These groups are a considerable source of the social science funds. Thus support for research at Berkeley comes largely from organizations which are part of the national establishment and therefore which have a national perspective. The Chamberlain Report to the Academic Senate of May, 1967 lists some of the disadvantages of such a situation as follows:

- (1) Some reported difficulty in securing Federal funds for pioneering research as against developmental research, with a consequent discouragement to enter new fields.
- (2) Annoying accounting controls imposed by Federal agencies, such as the requirement that faculty participants give periodically a quantitative breakdown of their working time and efforts.
- (3) Pressure on the University to accept Federal grants as a means of attracting and keeping top scholars.
- (4) An aggravation of the already existing problems of the relation between the research and the training functions of the University, and of the place of undergraduate instruction. The massiveness of the Federal contribution of research funds helps to swing emphasis to both research and graduate training.

Agribusiness

"GREEN PASTURES OF PLENTY FROM DRY DESERT GROUND..."

(The following is a summary of "The Dirt on California," an Independent Socialist publication, by Hal and Anne Draper.)

Students are frequently warned by liberal professors and administrators of the grim results of violating the sacred principles of the academy. The integrity and neutrality of the university must be maintained in order to preserve the values of reason and dispassionate inquiry. Politics must not be injected into the scholarly curriculum. On October 11, 1968, President Hitch again reminded the university community of the necessity of maintaining neutrality. This time, the academy was being protected from the insidious incursions of the Grape Boycott. The university would take no "formal stand on either side." Ignoring the fact that the university would either buy grapes or not, either supporting or breaking the boycott, Hitch perpetuated the familiar facade of neutralism: by refraining from taking a formal stand, he nonetheless did take a stand - against the boycott, and in favor of the present exploitation of farm laborers.

This is not the only instance in which agricultural workers have been faced with the "neutrality of the university." From its very founding, the university has demonstrated its neutrality through the functioning of its Extensions, in its research - both academic and technological - in its relations with government, and business, in the composition of its regents, and in the avocation of its chancellors.

In 1969, one rarely hears of the founding of the university. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided federal land for colleges and federal funds for agricultural extension programs and farm experiment stations. The University of California was founded as a "Land Grant College" through this government program. From its inception, the university - the Ivory Tower - was thrust into the political and economic life of the state, and lost no time in manifesting its neutrality.

As populist-minded farmers began to attack banks, railroad companies and large suppliers in the 1890's, Agricultural Extensions began to organize Farm Bureaus of the more prosperous farmers. Agents of the university Extension in California began such a program in 1919, calling delegates from county bureaus to ratify a proposed constitution for a California Farm Bureau Federation (CFBF). Secretary of Agriculture Houston testified in 1921, "The Farm Bureau was formed as a bulwark against unrest among farmers." The university, the agent of organization of the CFBF, maintained its neutrality towards that organization--which soon became a lobbying anti-labor pressure group--right up through 1938, when the CFBF finally moved its headquarters from Hilgard Hall on the Berkeley Campus, and up until the present, with the CFBF represented on the Board of Regents by Allen Grant.

By 1934, the CFBF and the State Chamber of Commerce had helped to create the Associated Farmers of California (AFC). The AFC was an anti-union organization that used terrorist tactics against farm labor organization throughout the '30s,

and was prominent in the breaking of the Orange County citrus strike and the Salinas lettuce strike of 1936. The first president, and one of the founders of the AFC, was Parker Friselle, a university employee who operated the university's vineyard at Fresno. In some counties, Farm Bureau secretaries--who were university appointees--were simultaneously AFC leaders.

There is one other way in which the university manifested its "neutrality" toward AFC--and hence toward farm labor organization. In 1937, the University began to sponsor county agricultural conferences, consisting of 50-60 people, ostensibly representative of agricultural thought, who would meet and produce unanimously approved recommendations, which would then be published and distributed by the university. These resolutions were frequently anti-labor--occasionally calling for the repeal of the Wagner Act. Ten out of 22 investigated conferences endorsed the AFC by name. Endorsement of the AFC program was common.

Thus the university manifested its "neutrality" toward restless farmers and organized farm workers in three ways: it organized the Farm Bureaus as a bulwark against unrest among farmers, providing office space and appointing secretaries; when farm labor was restless, it provided the parent organization and the leadership of the AFC; and finally it provided anti-labor, pro-AFC farmers a forum for discussion, and distributed the recommendations of hand-picked agricultural spokesmen.

The university has been every bit as neutral in the 1960's as in the 20's and 30's, providing, among other services, ready-made pro-grower testimony before legislative investigators upon request. From 1959-61, the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Labor and Welfare, under Senator Cobey from Fresno, conducted the most compre-



hensive inquiry on agricultural labor in nearly 10 years. The report was mainly in response to rising demands for better conditions for farm laborers, and for the ending of the bracero program. The committee recommended against collective bargaining and a state minimum wage for agricultural workers, and for the indefinite continuation of the bracero program. These conclusions were based largely on the data and analyses of university agriculture experts, which the committees graciously acknowledged. One such expert was Dr. George L. Mehren, then director of the Giannini Foundation, later Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. He testified that, "The increases in distributive shares to labor have been at least as high as increases in labor productivity rates," and that "there is no compelling indication of exploitation of hired domestic agricultural labor..." At the same time, Fresno State sociologist Thomas Brigham described farm labor as "underprivileged, under-paid, improperly fed, ill-housed, poorly clothed, inadequately socially protected..." Also at the same time, two men in non-agricultural sectors of the university produced a report on, "The Patterns of Dependent Poverty in California." Finding a standard wage of \$1.00 an hour, and a very low year-round employment rate, they concluded that farm workers were "...one occupational group...so deeply locked in poverty that it is set off from all others..." But the scholarly objectivity of the agricultural sector of the university, especially the Giannini Foundation, chose to ignore such evidence. Meanwhile, Giannini Foundation director Mehren was on his way to the state bureaucracy.

Perhaps the most outstanding instance of the neutrality of the university with regard to agricultural labor concerns the bracero program. The program began in 1951 as a measure to alleviate an alleged farm labor shortage induced by the Korean War. Congress set December, 1963, as the expiration date. Early in 1963, Dr. Eric Thor and Dr. John Mamer from their prestigious positions as prominent agricultural economists of the Giannini Foundation and Agricultural Extension, began to release a stream of reports and statements corroborating the growers' assertions that without bracero labor California agriculture and the state's economy would suffer disaster. Major arguments were that the state did not provide educational and health services for Mexican nationals which would have to be provided for Americans, and that the labor void would be filled by a Grapes of Wrath migration leading to depression. This campaign, which peaked with the university published report entitled "Seasonal Labor in California Agriculture" again proving the growers' case, coincided with Congressional hearings on the bracero program, and played a major role in the extension of the program.

In 1964, there was a giant replay. The Brown administration requested a study, which was provided by the university's Division of Agricultural Sciences. This report, "California Agricultural Labor Requirements and Adjustments," was primarily produced, according to the preface by Dean of Agriculture Peterson, by Thor and Mamer. The report maintained the same position that Thor and Mamer had argued the year before. Ruben Salazar of the Los Angeles Times discovered that 17 pages had been deleted. These 17 pages argued substantially against the Thor-Mamer position. Dean Peterson called it a misunderstanding--the original version was an "unfinished draft" that had been sent to Governor Brown by mistake. Senator Sturgeon, Chairman of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Labor and Welfare, suggested, "I understand it (the report) was rewritten to present only the side of agricultural interests." (L.A. Times, Dec. 18, 1964) The state AFL-CIO head came closer to reality:

The apparent grower veto of this section of the Berkeley study constitutes a gross violation of academic freedom with respect to research

personnel. This flagrant trifling with scholarship smacks of an effort to convert a great university into a Madison Avenue public relations outfit whose findings can be shaped to meet the desire of any group with the price or the influence to dictate the end product.

The neutral university is pleased to send certified agricultural experts---who incidentally ignore readily available information, and present only the growers' side--to testify before government investigators, or to produce made-to-order reports. When agriculture experts don't produce the desired results, the university is willing to manifest its neutrality by deleting information that contradicts the growers' position.

This by no means exhausts the scandalous role of the university in the area of agricultural labor; in this regard, the university's neutrality has been infinite. Yet this is not the limit of the university's "neutrality" toward the agricultural industry.

That unobtrusive building in the distant corner of the Berkeley campus, with the facade that talks about preserving the values of rural life, houses the College of Agriculture. It doesn't look as though Agricultural Sciences should have its own university vice-president, let alone be the only "subject" so distinguished. Nor would one suspect that it could be the only "subject" which, in the official state budget, breakdown of allocations, is completely coordinated with the separate campuses and the Extension Service. In fact, this part of the university is very important--to the agricultural industry and to the state's economy.

When Dr. D. L. Peterson resigned last year as University Dean of Agriculture, he proudly announced that the university's research and extension had been "major forces" in bringing about the agricultural industry's growth rate of \$100,000,000 per year. The University Bulletin explains:

During the past five years, the number of university research projects in agriculture has increased to 926 in all, about 200 more than in 1962. Expenditures for agricultural research have increased nearly one-third during the same period.

Some of these projects are:

- A project on suppressing insect attacks "causing economic losses to sugar beets"
- On the improvement of beef cattle, "to test the usefulness of (one type) to the beef industry."
- On developing equipment for twining hops
- On the market for pine lumber
- A project "facilitating the marketing of seed"
- On an analysis of the demand for selected fruits and vegetables
- On a tree-bark project, including "to seek new potential markets for bark silvichemicals"
- A citrus-disease project, including "development of disease-free propagative stock for supply to growers"
- On "the demand for products of California agriculture," including to "estimate production of competing areas of the U.S. and foreign countries"

Other industries must provide their own laboratories and pay their own researchers, taking advantage when they can of spin-off from government-sponsored projects. Even the Wall Street Journal (Sept. 9, 1962) refers to the university as a "tax-paid clinic for a major industry." There has been some talk of charging fees for services to the agricultural industry--that is, of having "the agricultural industry support research that brings direct gain to the industry." But as yet the university is relatively free from the taint of agri-business monies (the industry provided less than \$1.5 million of the more than \$25 million spent by the university's State Experiment station in fiscal 1967). So far the university is free from such incursions on its dispassionate neutrality. The university does not provide such services for a price. No irregularities here. It provides service for the wealthy robber barons of California agriculture only at public expense.

The university has not only provided studies and research for California's agricultural industry; it has found, and continues to find, devices to mechanize the industry--again at minimal cost to the beneficiaries. The university has already produced a tomato picking machine, and work continues on devices for harvesting lettuce, strawberries, grapes, cantaloupe, asparagus, olives, peaches and citrus fruits. Considering the role of the university in suppressing farm labor organization, and in the fight for the bracero program, as well as its research service, these devices fit neatly into the pattern of service for industry. The bracero program ended; the growers were forced to mechanize or face the real question of unionized farm labor. The industry's tax-supported clinic provides the solution.

Other universities accumulate a good deal of money from the patents on industry-serving products. The University of Wisconsin, for example, has received \$43 million since 1925 on patent royalties. Until recently, the university did not take out patents at all on the products of its scientists. Such discoveries simply became the property of the industry. If five cents had been charged for each vine of a university-developed grape variety now growing in California, the university would have netted \$350,000. Instead, the people of California paid for the research which provided this boon for the growers. The amount of money given to the agricultural industry in this fashion cannot be easily or accurately determined. What can be said is that it has been a very great deal.

The industry also gets a break under the new policy of patenting such contributions to agriculture. For example, rights on the forthcoming grape harvester have already been released - to Berkeley Mayor Wallace Johnson's Upright Scaffolding Inc. The university now receives 3 - 7% royalties on such products. In this case, the figure is 5%. Officially these rights are released through public bidding. In fact, this is not the case, as the Johnson-grape harvester deal clearly shows. In this deal, according to Patent administrator Mark Owens, not only was there no competitive bidding, but no other businesses were even notified that bids were in order. The 5% figure was arrived at through "negotiation" over the telephone, and the deal was made. At least one company - Blackwelder, which owns the tomato harvester - was outraged to find the prize claimed without previous notification. Again, there is no way of figuring how much the university has given away through "negotiated" contracts used instead of the official policy of competitive bidding. Not only does the neutral university serve as the tax free clinic for California agriculture, but even when it begins to charge for its services, ways are found to ensure that the cost remains minimal for industry, and that the cost burden lies with the taxpayers.

All this neutrality ought not to be surprising. The reason for it relates directly to the founding of the university as a land grant college - founded for the purpose of contributing to agricultural development - though it now dwarfs even its original intent. The University's Board of Regents represents the highest echelon of California's corporate empire - itself a major cog in the national empire. They list among their collective assets half the food packing industry and hundreds of thousands of acres of irrigated farmland.

- Edward Carter: trustee of the Irvine Foundation, which owns 51% of the Irvine Ranch; director of Del Monte Foods
- Theodore Meyer: director of Newhall Land and Farming
- Norton Simon: of Norton Simon Inc., which includes Hunt Foods
- William Forbes: Bell Brand Foods
- Allen Grant: Visalia Ranch; California Farm Bureau Federation; State Board of Agriculture.

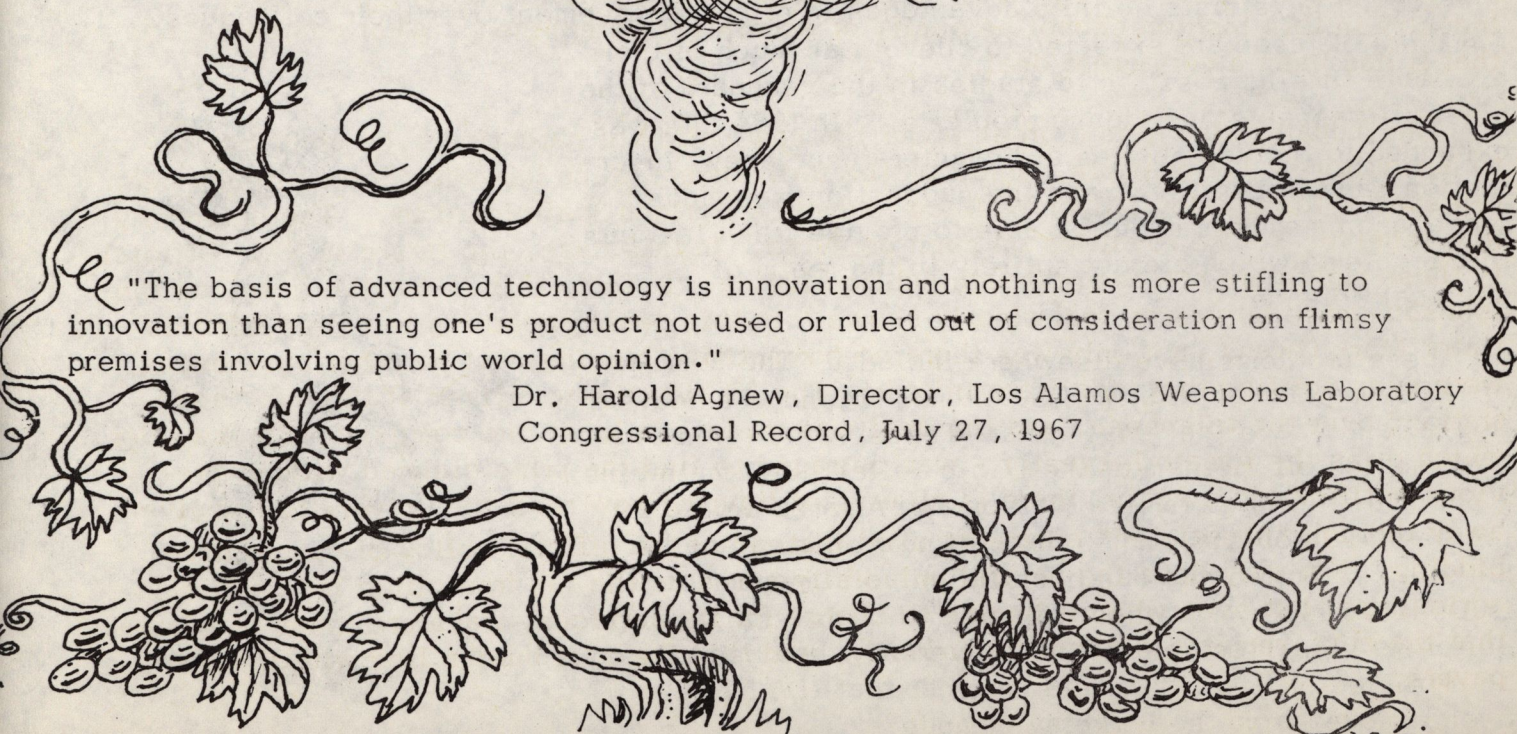
Agricultural holdings of recently retired Regents include Blue Goose Growers as well as the Tejon Ranch (285,000 acres in Kern and Los Angeles Counties). The chancellors are also a part of this corporate elite. For example, Chancellor Heyns is a director of Norton Simon Inc., and Chancellor Emil Mrak of the Davis campus is a director of Libby.

So it ought not to be surprising that the university serves the growers in every possible way; that is merely consistent with the nature of its founding, and with the interests of its legally defined governing body. The University of California agricultural sector serves California's giant agricultural industry, in the maintenance of the present economic order, just as its other sectors serve other forms of industry, and just as it supports CBW, counter-insurgency research, IDA and CIA - and all the structures of America's vast empire. The glib, liberal guise of neutrality is nothing more than a cheap mask for the university's role in America's Imperial structure.



"The basis of advanced technology is innovation and nothing is more stifling to innovation than seeing one's product not used or ruled out of consideration on flimsy premises involving public world opinion."

Dr. Harold Agnew, Director, Los Alamos Weapons Laboratory
Congressional Record, July 27, 1967



I.D.A. at Cal.

President Hitch, who is a trustee of the Institute for Defense Analyses, provides the institutional link between the University and IDA. In spite of IDA's recent attempt to cover its tracks by severing its connections to universities (though only on paper), research is still going on at the Berkeley campus under IDA sponsorship.

Kenneth M. Watson, Professor of Physics and Theoretical Physics, is a member of the Jason Division of IDA - a fact which he freely admits. The Jason Division was set up to involve senior academic scientists in the solution of military problems without removing them from the campus. Professor Watson's case is a good illustration. Much of his work seems to be entirely aboveboard. One such paper, also published by IDA, is about scattering theory of electromagnetic waves in an "underdense" plasma. Aside from the fact that atomic and hydrogen bombs are excellent sources of plasma, the fourth state of matter, there is no reason for suspicion about this work. In fact, although the paper is stamped "copy 3 of 10 copies" and "This document must be returned to IDA after it has been reviewed", it has been graded "Unclassified" so that it may appear in a scientific journal. But Watson is also co-author of an article entitled "Detection of Nuclear Explosions" which appeared in the Annual Review of Nuclear Science. The study was funded by the AEC and IDA, and the authors come from RAND and the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley and Livermore. Part of detection is to discuss means of concealing nuclear tests, and this article has a section which discusses the concealment of nuclear tests behind the moon and sun. X-ray shields are also covered. Which use of the work occurs - detection or concealment - is left entirely up to our Defense Department. There is, of course, no way of evaluating additional work performed in classified or restricted projects.

Dr. Luis Alvarez, Cal's recent Nobel prize winner in Physics, was a member of the Jason Division until 1967. Alvarez stated that his resignation had nothing to do with moral qualms and that he had high esteem for young scientists who continue to work for the Jason Division. Indeed, in an exchange in the Daily Cal he explained that working for a group like Jason gave young physicists definite advantages in rapid advancement over their colleagues. Members of Jason are expected to "devote as much of their available time as possible to studies in the vanguard of the scientific aspects of Defense problems." In 1964 this was expanded to include studies of "counter-insurgency, insurrection, and infiltration;" and the suggestion was made "that Jason members might be able to provide fresh insights into problems which are not entirely in the realm of physical science."

These problems have elsewhere included "The Bombing of North Vietnam at Night," "Counterinsurgency Maneuvers in Thailand," and the "MacNamara Fence" which was to have sealed off Vietnam at the 17th parallel. IDA maintains a pool of investigators like Watson and Alvarez on tap to tackle such problems and to think of new ones. Another Berkeley scientist who has been listed as a member of IDA is Donald Glazer, Professor of Research Biophysics. Earl Bolton, a Vice-President of the University, has been listed as a trustee of IDA. It should be clear that IDA has not been removed from the Berkeley campus.

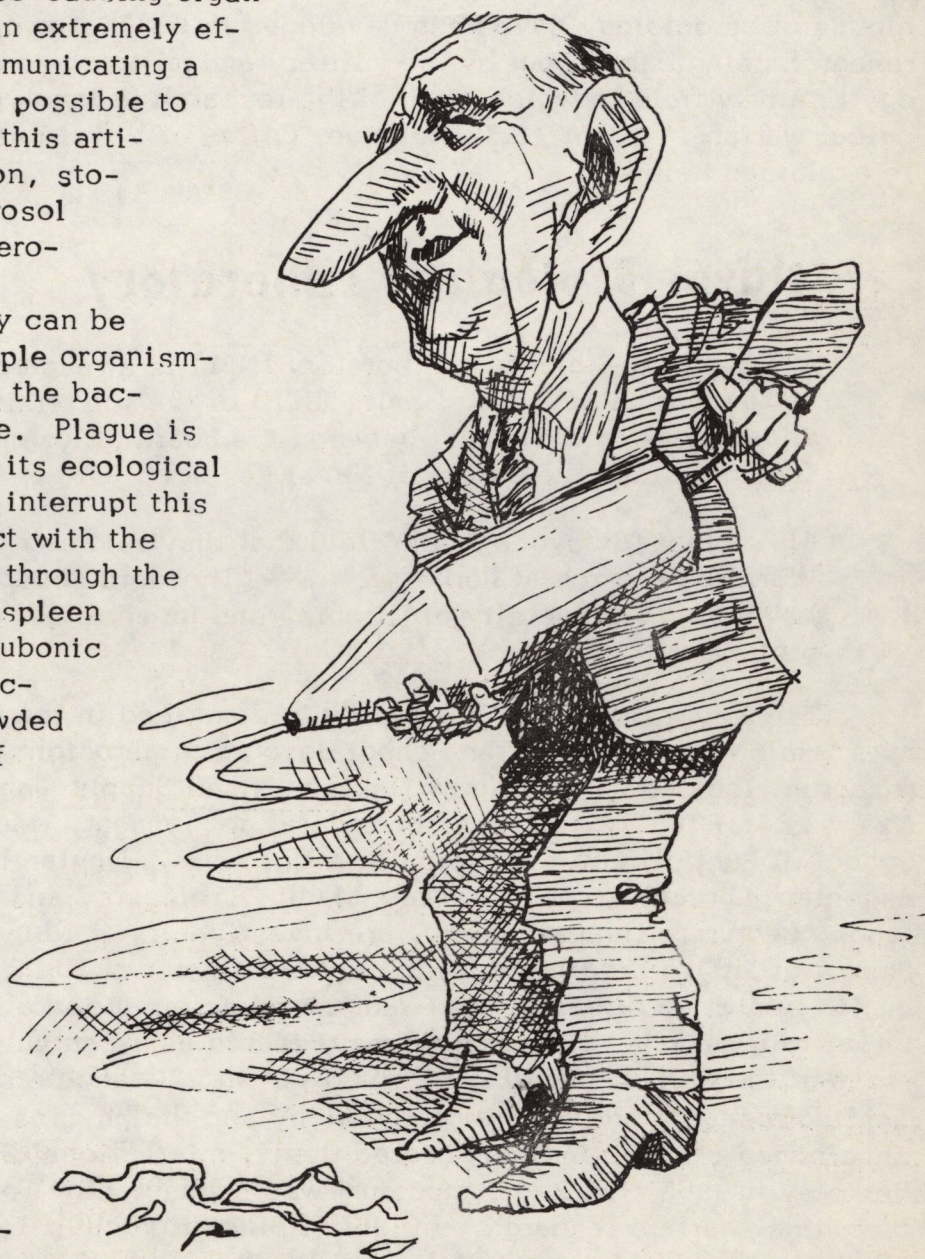


Chemical & Biological Warfare

One of the triumphs of modern biology is the control and eradication of organisms responsible for the diseases which cause human misery and premature death. However, biotechnology may also be utilized to increase human suffering and to develop instruments of death.

Although the airborne route is important in the spread of mild upper respiratory diseases, especially under indoor circumstances where close contact is probable, the communication of severe diseases rarely depends exclusively on this mechanism, (with the exception of some fungal diseases).⁸ However, it is possible to prepare clouds of very small water droplets containing disease-causing organisms; such "aerosols" provide an extremely efficient means of artificially communicating a severe disease. It may even be possible to trigger an epidemic by utilizing this artificial technique. The preparation, storage and delivery of such an aerosol falls under the study labeled "Aerobiology."³

The principles of aerobiology can be illustrated by considering a sample organism—Pasteurella pestis. P. pestis is the bacterium responsible for the plague. Plague is not ordinarily a human disease; its ecological cycle is rat-flea-rat. Man may interrupt this cycle, most commonly by contact with the rodent, and P. pestis may pass through the skin to infect the lymph nodes, spleen and liver. This form is called bubonic plague, and it is not highly infectious except under the most crowded and unsanitary of conditions. If the host survives long enough, the bacilli may reach the lungs to produce a form called pneumonic plague which is highly infectious because it can be transmitted via sneezing and coughing. Pneumonic plague is both more infectious and more virulent than bubonic plague. In epidemic proportions it is rare because it is improbable that secondary pneumonic plague will occur to a significant degree. However, if a population were exposed to primary pneumonic plague, an uncontrollable epidemic could be triggered readily. Such an exposure could be made using aerosol clouds containing the plague bacilli. The natural rarity of the disease in humans insures that there



will be little immunity to it. The particle size of the aerosol can be regulated for maximum penetration into the respiratory system. Only a few viable bacilli need enter the body to cause infection by the respiratory route. Symptoms of plague are fever, chills, rapid pulse, mental dullness, coated tongue and red eyes; the disease is often fatal.^{1,3,9}

Other severe diseases which normally occur very rarely in man can be induced by aerosols. These include pulmonary Anthrax which can be fatal within 24 hours; Tularemia, a rodent disease sometimes called rabbit fever, which incapacitates for two to three weeks with a mortality rate of 5-8%; Yellow Fever, a disease caused by a virus and transmitted in nature by ticks or mosquitoes. These diseases and others are considered excellent candidates for biological warfare.^{3,9} The airborne route of infection for these diseases when aerosols are used is fundamentally different from the natural mode of communication. The result is disastrous: a disease of increased virulence and infectivity. Techniques of aerobiology, then, can obviously be used as a biological warfare weapon. Many of the techniques of aerobiology have been developed in the last two decades with the bulk of the research being carried out by the military and military-connected institutions. "Aerobiology is a new field in which much of the research is involved in defense against bacteriological warfare." (Capt. E.J. Hoffman, Office of Naval Research. The meaning of "defense" is explained below.)

Naval Biological Laboratory

The Naval Biological Laboratory (NBL) is a research installation administered by the School of Public Health (SPH) of the University of California at Berkeley under terms of a contract between the Board of Regents of the University of California and the Office of Naval Research (ONR), Washington, D.C.¹

"It's clear to anyone in the field that they're doing Chemical and Biological Warfare research at Berkeley." -- Theodore Rosebury, Professor of Bacteriology at University of Illinois, and former chief of airborne infection project at Fort Detrick.

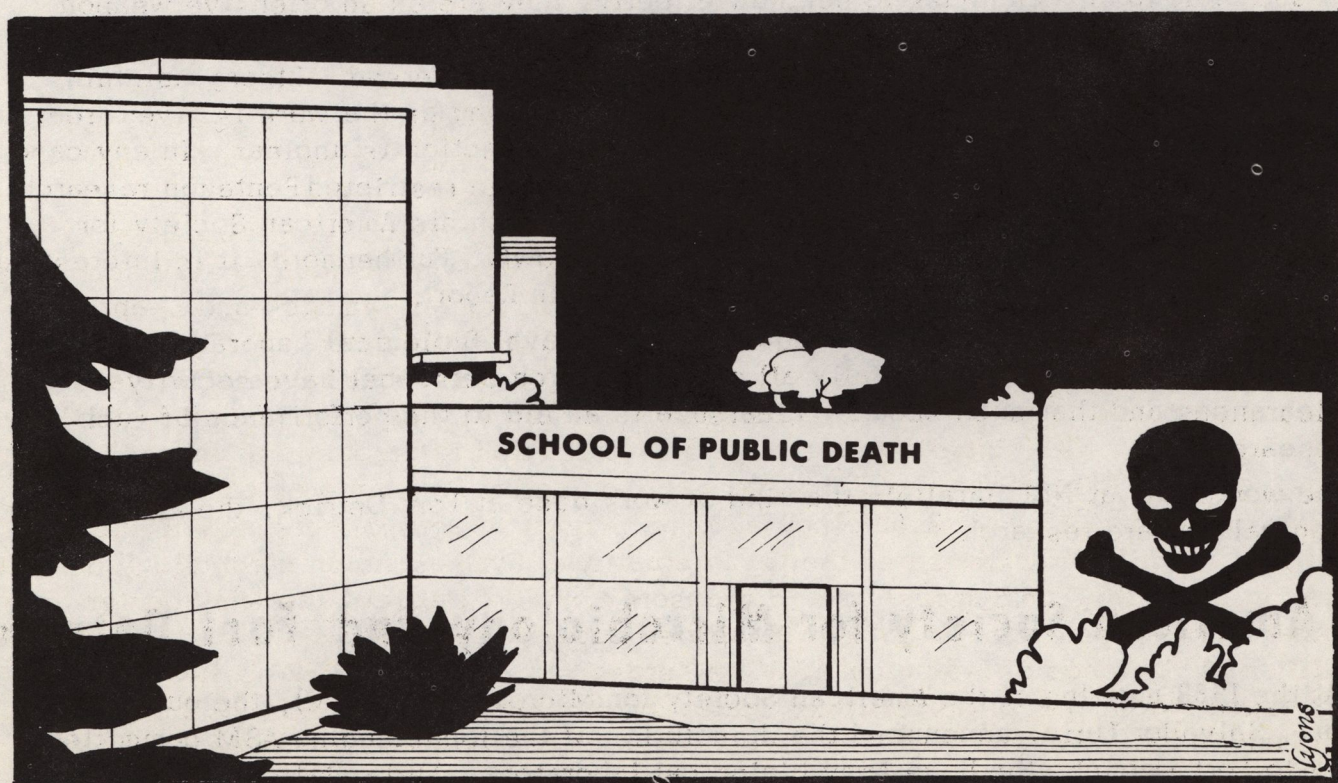
The Naval Biological Laboratory is described in the School of Public Health brochure as a "major component of the School devoted to aerobiology and related microbiological research, located at the nearby Oakland Naval Supply Center."⁴ The 1967-1968 Budget for NBL was \$1,636,472, all from the federal government. Many of the faculty members of the School of Public Health participate in NBL work. Neylan Vedros, Associate Professor, is Associate Director of NBL; Stewart Madin, Professor, and Robert Dimmick and Leonard Jones, Lecturers in aerobiology, are investigators at NBL; William Reeves, Dean of the School of Public Health, is principal investigator at NBL, and Sanford Elberg, Professor of Public Health and Dean of the Graduate Division at Berkeley, was co-principal investigator at NBL in 1961. NBL also offers research assistantships in aerobiology under the auspices of the SPH. According to a SPH poster, "Graduate students interested in basic and applied research problems of aerobiology and the physics of aerosols are ... eligible for appointment." NBL-ONR sponsored the 1st International Symposium on Aerobiology held at Berkeley in 1963, the 2nd Symposium was sponsored by Fort Detrick, the Army center for biological warfare research. In 1961, NBL carried out a Detrick sponsored study on the "Stability and Virulence of Biological Warfare Aerosols." (contract MIPR no. R-55-5-CML-FD) Stewart Madin was principal investigator for this study.¹¹ In 1966, NBL received \$1.1 million Pentagon contract for "additional research on the epidemiology of the infectious diseases."

NBL has conducted much work on the viability of disease causing organisms in aerosols as a function of various physical parameters, such as relative humidity and temperature; it also has done research on the survival of these organisms under various methods of storage and preservations such as freeze drying (lyophilization). Some of the organisms that have been investigated are those responsible for plague, Tularemia, Yellow Fever, and Anthrax.

A sampling of the NBL research includes "Effects of changes in relative humidity of airborne Pasteurella pestis (Plague) in dynamic aerosols" - Hatch, NBL Report 37; "Aerosol persistence of Yellow Fever virus as a function of relative humidity" - Boerke, Goldberg, and Leif, NBL Report 26; "Study of the aerosol stability of Pasteurella tularensis" - (Rabbit Fever) - Goldberg and Boerke, NBL Report 26; "Viability and virulence of lyophilized Pasteurella pestis after six years storage" - Heckley, NBL Report 28; and "Continued investigation into Bacillus anthracis (Anthrax)" is mentioned as a research objective in the 1959 Report.

Of course NBL does research in other "related" areas such as vaccine development, mechanisms of infection, and aerosol detection. But according to Hersh, "In the context of biological warfare even life-saving techniques such as immunization take on a strange aspect: immunity among one's own population and troops is a prerequisite to the initiations of disease by our own forces..."

Proponents of NBL and aerobiology tend to stress the public health side of the research, "Aerobiology is a field which has burgeoned recently since exposure to airborne micro-organisms is a subject not only of military interest but of increasing concern to those involved in industrial health and epidemiology." (Capt. E.J. Hoffman)² Sanford Elberg, Dean of the Graduate Division at UCB, (whose office must approve all research on the Berkeley campus), maintains that aerobiology not only gives insight into the natural transmission of diseases but also provides a method whereby vaccinated animals can be "challenged" with a disease in order to test the effectiveness of vaccines.



There are several weaknesses in Elberg's argument. The experimental methods that characterize aerobiology as done at NBL involves the production and storage of organisms on artificial media, under artificial conditions, the production of an artificial aerosol, the study of this aerosol under controlled conditions of darkness (light is very effective in destroying the organisms in the aerosol), relative humidity and temperature in huge rotating metal drums, and the collecting and measuring of viability by methods which may introduce artifacts (such as unforeseen destruction of the organism) into the experiment. Morton maintains that these kinds of experimental methods make the results practically irrelevant and may be misleading as far as medical knowledge is concerned. However, the results have much more validity for military application where the environmental factors can be controlled.² Another reason why aerobiology is of limited public health value is indicated by Williams, who points out that with the exception of some fungal diseases, the airborne route is not the most important path for the communication of diseases and that it is rarely possible to determine whether the disease has been communicated by the airborne route or by another route.⁸ Also the droplet size for naturally produced (by cough or sneeze) aerosols is 8-16 microns, while the particle size used in aerobiology is 1-5 microns, for maximal penetration in the respiratory system.^{3,8} Furthermore, many of the diseases explored do not pose much of a public health threat, especially for the United States. (Anthrax, Tularemia and Plague are practically unknown to occur among humans in the U.S.). Even where these diseases are a problem, the indicated public health measures usually involve eradication or control of the animal carriers, a step totally unrelated to aerobiology.

The use of highly artificial methods in aerobiology is not necessitated by technological limitations. The Seventeenth Symposium of the Society for General Microbiology on Airborne Microbes describes extensive work done on the natural production of aerosols and the circulation of microbes in the atmosphere. It is interesting to note that the term aerobiology is not mentioned in this Symposium held in 1967, in London.⁸

Another product of aerobiology research that is mentioned both by Elberg and Hoffman is "defensive biological warfare." This term can mean the production of aerosols so that defensive measures such as vaccines may be tested; however, it also means the development of aerobiological techniques to see how effective they are as an offensive weapon, to determine whether it is worth the effort to develop a defense against the particular disease. Of course, this rather tortuous logic can be exactly reversed. Elberg maintains that aerobiology cannot be used for offensive purposes as long as the work is given free and open publication. Why this step would serve such a function is unclear. In any case Hersh points out that some of NBL's research is listed only in restricted Pentagon research bulletins and Elberg concedes that some of the work on which his American Society for Microbiology consulted was classified material (see below). Furthermore, it is interesting to note the following reference to NBL by the Chamberlain Report:

"While security clearance is not required at the Naval Biological Laboratory....
...we understand that essentially all of the research personnel have security clearances and that such security clearance is an aid to the performance of such research."¹³

Also, the work done at NBL parallels the kind of work done at Fort Detrick, the Army center for biological warfare research.^{3,6}

The American Society for Microbiology and Fort Detrick

At the 1968 meeting of the American Society for Microbiology (ASM), the outgoing president, Salvador Luria, announced the dissolution of the longstanding ASM committee advisory to Fort Detrick, the huge Army biological laboratory. Luria stated "The ethical

problem implicit in the association of a professional society with the defense establishment has always been present in the minds of the officers of the society "7 The abolition of the advisory committee enraged some members of the ASM who felt that ethical decisions have no place within a professional scientific society. The propriety of an advisory committee to the U.S. center for biological warfare, which sometimes advises on secret research, existing within an international scientific society, was brought up at an earlier Bay Area ASM meeting. Among those opposing the dissolution of the committee on "no ethics" grounds was Robert Dimmick of NBL. Dimmick has stated:

It is ironic that I, who am primarily a pacifist, should argue against a resolution so humanitarian, so apparently well meaning and so seemingly innocuous. To oppose this seems to put one in a position of being against the essential goodness of humanity....the resolution is vague, contradictory, commits our membership by a majority vote to an implied ethical and moral position which has no place in a professional society..."

Apparently Dr. Dimmick does not believe that the maintenance of an advisory committee to Fort Detrick by the ASM constitutes an "ethical and moral position" on biological warfare. The committee was reestablished by the ASM membership in a plenary session.

Sanford Elberg also approves of the advisory committee and was a member of it from 1957-1967. As chairman of the committee in 1967, he pushed for greater involvement by scientists in Detrick's management.

The scientists are deeply committed despite signs of adverse management control policies exercised by the government department. This adverse comment is annually a matter of the most serious concern to each committee. It is fostered by the apparent failure of the Defense Department to coopt the highest quality of advisory personnel available in microbiology and immunology into the Defense Department's highest levels (emphasis his) of committee structure or Civil Service. The Committee is gratified nevertheless to see the superior level of research sustained at Ford Detrick.⁵

This view is in contrast to complaints by some microbiologists that they were compelled to work at Detrick because of the influence it wields in the academic world and because of the money and facilities available only there. They complained that the work is uncreative, dangerous, and morally repugnant.

Public Unhealth

The proponents of aerobiology always discuss it in terms of "defense." Nevertheless, there are many disturbing indications that germ agents are being considered for uses other than defense. It is not reassuring to know that the United States never ratified the Geneva Accords outlawing biological warfare, though Russia and China did.⁶ One wonders about the defensive value of having massive amounts of biological agents stockpiled by the military³, and about the pods, bombs, and missile warheads capable of carrying biological agents that have been developed by Litton Industries, Aerojet-General, and Goodyear under military contracts.³

General J.H. Rothschild, former Director of Chemical Warfare Research for the Army, states that the U.S. has no fixed policy on the use of biological agents and that they should be considered "just another weapon in our arsenal."⁶ The official pronouncements on the defensive nature of aerobiology take on new significance in the light of what General Rothschild has to say:

It is only since my retirement that I have been able, while still observing security requirements, to freely state my opinions in the public forum. Before that, I was not able to speak of a chemical or biological weapon without prefacing my remarks with the statement that the enemy might use it. This is absurd. You cannot develop defenses against weapons without some knowledge of how it may be used offensively.³

The grave dangers involved in employing biological warfare or even testing it are recognized by many biologists. As far back as 1946, Theodore Rosebury, a bacteriologist who did biological warfare research during World War II, but who has since spoken out against BW research, stated in a memo to his superiors:

...the mere availability of offensive biological weapons constitutes a hair-trigger mechanism, ominous in its capacity for damage which may possibly be irretrievable. The pursuit of a policy of offensive development must foster military rivalry between nations...it must tend to stimulate an international race in armaments of mass destruction. It must impose the need for secrecy in science at least to a degree. (CBW)

He also notes:

The horrible potentialities of BW that the gamemen and brinksmen seem to enjoy playing with are modified by uncertainties they seldom stress. Strategic BW does indeed have enormous possibilities for damage but it also has a few serious deficiencies. For one thing it is next to impossible to know beforehand what to expect from a strategic attack; there is no satisfactory way of testing in advance.³

Leroy Fothergill, one-time director of Detrick, expands on this hypothesis:

Everything that breathes in the exposed area has an opportunity to be exposed to the agent. This will involve vast numbers of mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians and insects. Various natural history surveys have indicated surprising numbers of wild life inhabiting each square mile of countryside. It is possible that many species would be exposed to an agent for the first time in their evolutionary history. We have no knowledge of the respiratory route of administration of infectious aerosols. What would be the consequences? Would new and unused zoonotic foci of endemic disease be established? Would it create the basis for possible genetic evolution of microorganisms in new directions with changes in virulence of some species? Would it create public health and environmental problems that are unique and beyond our present experience?³

Matthew Meselsohn, Harvard geneticist and a pioneer in the field of DNA research fears that the danger of uncontrollable mutants arising may even be present under the conditions of the field testing of BW agents that is carried out by the Army. Currency is given to this fear in the light of the recent Dugway accident, in which the Army lost control of nerve gas during a field test, resulting in the death of 6000 sheep. According to a Science article on the Dugway affair, such accidents are not rare. If inanimate gases cannot be well controlled in test situations what about animate organisms capable of mutation and proliferation?¹² Meselsohn also points out that BW weapons are best suited as terror weapons and are more effective against civilian populations especially in underdeveloped countries, where antibiotics are not readily available to the general population.

The attitude of NBL scientists is characteristic of the role played by academic scientists in the United States today. They push for more involvement in military research programs because that is where unlimited funds become available. Then they lament that they would like to do pure public health research but the only way to get funds is to work for ONR which they are quick to point out supports a great deal of basic research. They go to great pains to point out the public health value of research which is directed toward the development of biological warfare weapons. When such public health value vanishes on closer analysis of the work they fall back on the argument of "defensive biological warfare", even though the only guarantees that only "defensive" applications will be utilized is "free and open publication."

When asked to repudiate such work as professionals, they claim that such a "moral and ethical" judgment has no place in a professional society of scientists. In advising on warfare research they are just "serving the society", just making available "the current technical information."

The "society" these University scientists serve is rather exclusive, consisting heavily of generals, and war strategists. Who shall reap the benefits of this service? The "rebellious" people of a Third World country who demand their basic political and economic rights one day, and the next find themselves inflicted with a lethal fever coming from the aerosol clouds which descend from the sky? Perhaps it will be a portion of the American people who happen to live in the vicinity of an Army test center which has lost a mutant bacilli in the guts of a flea that got away.

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Chemical Warfare

Clearly, research for biological warfare is an established part of the university's curriculum. For those who are interested, the university also offers research activity in chemical warfare as well.

(continued on page 30)

W. FRENCH SMITH

DEWITT HIGGS

CATHERINE HEARST
(WIFE OF RANDOLPH A.)

SAMUAL B. MOSHER

THEODORE MEYER

EDWARD CARTER

WILLIAM FORBES

PHILIP BOYD

DOROTHY CHANDLER
WIFE OF NORMAN.
THEIR SON, OTIS

EDWIN PAULEY

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RESEARCH
INST.

D. BELL
BRAND
FOODS

TEJON
RANCH

D. KAISER
D. SAFEWAY
D. ATCH., TOP. &
SAN FE RR.
D. PAN-AM.
AIRWAYS
D. WESTERN
AIRLINES
P. & C.B. PAULEY
PETROLEUM

AIR WEST

C.B.

WATKINS-

HEARST
FOUND.

HEARST
EMPIRE

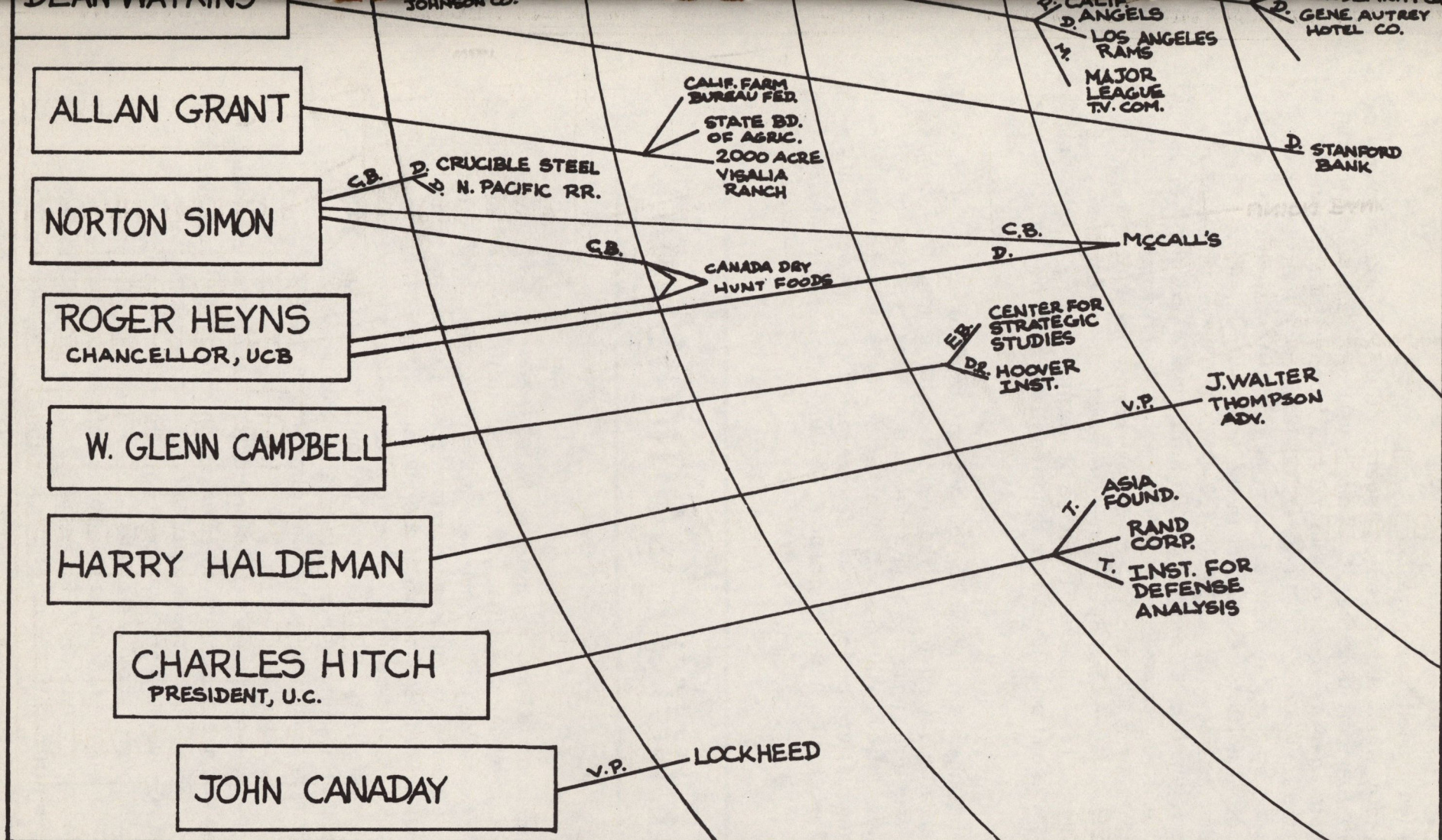
D. WESTERN
BANCORPORATION
D. PACIFIC
MUTUAL
LIFE INS.

D. SECURITY
PACIFIC

UNION BANK

OTIS, D.
V.P. NORMAN, C.B.
ASSOCIATED
PRESS
TIMES-MIRROR

COMMONWEALTH
ASSURANCE CO.
D. PACIFIC

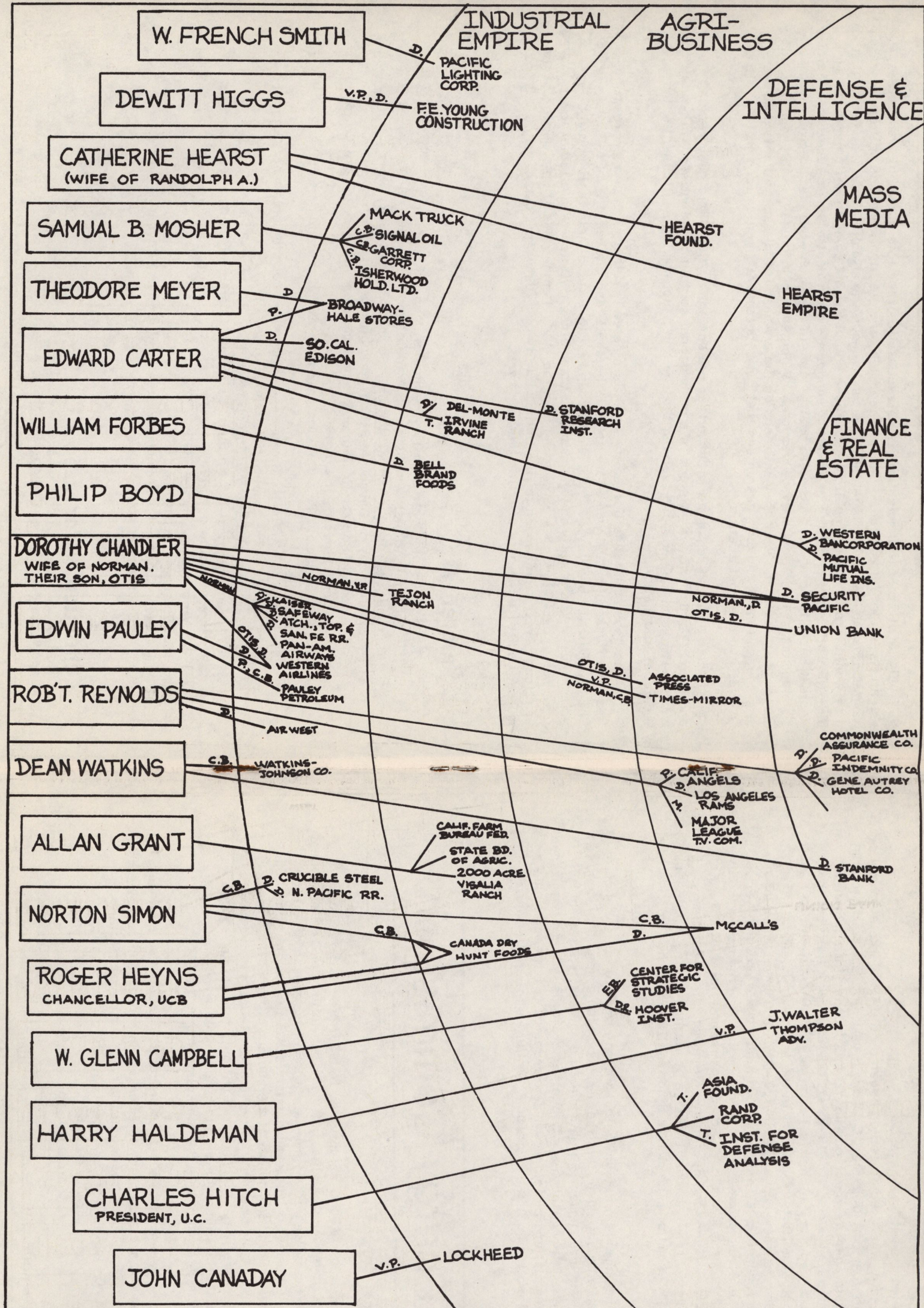


KEY

D. - DIRECTOR
 C.B. - CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
 V.P. - VICE PRESIDENT
 P. - PRESIDENT
 M. - MEMBER
 D.R. - DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH
 E.B. - EXECUTIVE BOARD
 T. - TRUSTEE

NOTES

1. CHANDLER, HALDEMAN, MOSHER AND MEYER HAVE RECENTLY RESIGNED HALDEMAN. NOW HAS A POSITION IN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.
2. VARIOUS REGENTS HOLD POSITIONS ON THE BOARDS OF THE FOLLOWING COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: CLAREMONT MEN'S, LOS ANGELES STATE, REED, STANFORD.
3. MRS. EDWARD HELLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS, SITS ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF STANFORD BANK ALONG WITH RECENTLY APPOINTED REGENT WATKINS.



(continued from page 27)

it is difficult to tell exactly when such research began on the Cal Berkeley campus. However, in 1961, Dr. Henry Rapaport from the UC Chemistry Department held two army contracts for chemical warfare agent research on "Lethal and Incapacitating Agents." One project, funded under contract number DA-18-108-CML-188, was intended to "isolate in pure form and to determine the chemical structure of ryanodine which has an unusual type of pharmacological activity of interest in the search for agents." The second project, funded under contract number DA-18-108-CML-5998, was intended to "determine the chemical structure of shellfish poison, a highly toxic product," as a basis for developing new chemical warfare agents. Both projects were supervised by the Agent Research Board of the Army Chemical Center. As recently as 1966, Dr. Rapaport was conducting a study supported by the Army Research Office entitled "The Chemistry of Natural Products - Particularly Those of Marine Origin." The study states, "Specifically, we are examining the marine dinoflagellates for the toxic material and pigments."

There can be no doubt that chemical and biological warfare research is going on at this university. Nor can there be any doubt that the result of such research is monopolized by the government - an arrangement which makes the university a tool of government and of government policy. This is only one sector of the university affected by such an arrangement; chemical and biological warfare research is only one manifestation of the university functioning as an instrument for the exercise of power.

Atomic Energy Commission

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), established in 1946 through the Atomic Energy Act, is the agency of government nuclear policy. That policy has two components: the development of nuclear energy for further rationalization of the means of industrial production; and the development of nuclear weaponry as an instrument of national power. The nature of the policy, and the nature of the subject of the policy, require the specialization, sophistication and security of the university laboratory. This reliance of the AEC on the university can be measured not only through AEC-administered projects on campuses, but also through the placement of university personnel on government statutory committees appointed by the President for the AEC.

The development of nuclear energy for industrial production serves two purposes. One is the obvious advantage of nuclear energy to American industry; nuclear power is cheap and increases profits. The other purpose is to serve America's imperial interests. The development of revolutionary movements in Third World nations as a response to the conditions of poverty provides a threat to the security of American economic interests. The AEC conceives a great role for atomic energy in the "stabilization" of developing countries. As AEC Commissioner Wilfred E. Johnson puts it, "the sooner and more efficiently the capital formation can be provided to give tangible promise to the so-called 'revolution of higher expectations' the sooner the long term

security of this country will be answered against the infinite varieties of violent change." The meaning of this statement becomes more clear when coupled with a statement from Johnson's fellow commissioner James T. Ramey: "We are now thinking of massive energy centers which would be the basis of whole new industrial and agricultural complexes. Such centers would make use of the almost inexhaustible resources of energy available from the atom." (One such project is currently being conducted in Venezuela at the Institute Venezuelana de Investigaciones Cientificas, and others are under consideration for the Near East, India, Pakistan and Australia.) Together these statements reveal the role of this phase of American nuclear policy in American foreign policy; they demonstrate a recognition of the prerequisites for the security of American interests, while at the same time providing the basis for the establishment of future interests - that is, the basis of a viable institutional framework conducive to capital expansion. This is all part of the first component of AEC activity; one need hardly elaborate on the other.

California is a major center for nuclear research. There are a number of reasons for this: California leads all other states in the location and manufacture of nuclear reactors; its use of radio-isotopes accounts for about 10% of the national total of by-product materials; and, California supplies 95% of the world's boron, a highly important control material. Or, as the California Assembly Interior Committee Report states, "When we add to the reactor business its cluster of auxiliary industries, the lengthening roster of radio-isotope users, the head-start and the geographically enticing conditions here, it seems likely that California will maintain its present unchallenged position as Western nuclear capital of the United States."



Perhaps the major factor in California's position of "Western nuclear capital of the United States" is that of the 19 major AEC research and development installations in the U.S., one-sixth are in California: University of California Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley and Livermore; University of California Medical Center Radiation Laboratory in San Francisco; and the University of California Medical School in Los Angeles. Add to these the University's major installation at Los Alamos, and the importance of the University to government nuclear policy begins to come clear; an investigation of the relationship of only the Berkeley campus to the AEC will make it very clear indeed that the University is not simply an agent of the AEC but an integral part of policy apparatus.

The Lawrence Laboratory on the Berkeley campus was originally built and founded by the University of California and its private donations. It has since been appropriated by the AEC and the federal government. Ostensibly, it is owned and operated by the University, but in fact it is a sub-contractor to the AEC - the second largest

university sub-contractor in the country with \$8,144,000 worth of operations. Despite the ruling of the Academic Senate, secret projects sponsored by the federal government continue under the present director, Edwin McMillan, who previously served on the AEC's General Advisory Committee, and who, along with Navy Captain "Deke" Parsons developed a gun-type weapon using uranium 235 at the Los Alamos Laboratory.

The Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore was organized by the late Ernest O. Lawrence, one-time UC Professor. It was designated as a separate component of the parent Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley and was built at the request of the AEC and the Department of Defense. A good deal of the work at Livermore is in weaponry - and a good deal of that is classified. However, some fields of concentration are known: designing of thermonuclear fission warheads; improving efficiency of nuclear fission weapons; and the development of thermonuclear weapons with reduced fission yields. The General Catalogue for 1968-69 states,

The Livermore site of the laboratory conducts a separate, primarily applied research program, part of which concerns nuclear weapons development and other classified subjects. Major Livermore programs also include unclassified basic research in the physical sciences, controlled thermonuclear reactions, and peaceful uses of nuclear explosives. (p. 125)

The Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, established by the War Department in 1943, is now administered largely by the University. A brief look at its history clearly shows the purpose and function of the installation. One of its first projects was the development of the world's first nuclear weapon. AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg, former Chancellor at UC Berkeley, stated, "Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory was created for the sole purpose of producing nuclear weapons to end World War II." After the war, under direction from AEC, Los Alamos continued to be a center for the development of nuclear weaponry. After the Sandstone tests in the Pacific, Seaborg announced, "Sandstone opened a new era for weapons development, and Los Alamos moved ahead quickly on several fronts to exploit various possibilities for building more efficient and more reliable weapons." The world has since had occasion to witness the fruits of the scholarly pursuits of the staff at Los Alamos where the atmosphere of secrecy is so great, according to Seaborg when he spoke here recently, that two research groups working on the same problem are only dimly aware of their shared existence.

The relationship between AEC and Cal is a very close one; a number of university professors are currently working on several government projects; and AEC enjoys free access to campus facilities. "Arrangements with the campus for use of university services and equipment primarily for studies by our research groups have totaled 23 continuing and 12 one-time requests; \$2,000,000 was obligated for this purpose." (AEC Status Report, 1965) But that is not the extent of the relationship; the university is fully integrated into this agent of government policy. The University provides not only staff and facilities for AEC projects, but provides staff for advisory panels to insure that the AEC is properly run.

- Glenn Seaborg, former Chancellor, U.C. Berkeley; Chairman, AEC, still on the faculty of the College of Chemistry
- Edwin McMillan, director of UC Lawrence Radiation Lab, has served on the AEC's General Advisory Committee, which deals with matters concerning materials, production and research
- Edward Teller, former associate director of UC Radiation Lab at Berkeley, also served on the General Advisory Panel; known as the "father" of the H-bomb

- Arthur M. Ross, Professor of Industrial Relations, and former director of the Institute for Industrial Relations at Berkeley, served on the Atomic Energy Labor Management Relations Panel, established to assist in peaceful adjustment of labor-management disputes which normal processes of collective bargaining and mediation have failed to resolve
- Dr. T. Makle, UC Radiation Lab at Livermore, served on the Advisory Committee on Reactor Physics, established to evaluate nuclear physics data and reactor physics studies for design and development of reactors
- Edwin F. Orlemann, professor of chemistry and chemical engineering at Berkeley, served on the Advisory Committee for Standard Reference Materials, established to provide "certified chemical and isotopic standards for uranium, plutonium, etc. and methods of measurement for materials of special importance to atomic energy activities."
- Jack M. Peterson, of Livermore, served on the Metallurgy and Materials Advisory Panel, established to "evaluate the needs for cross-section information in the various activities of the Commission"

This list is not current. It is only meant to show how fully integrated the "neutral" university is into the system of government and governmental policy. The AEC, the agency of administration of government nuclear policy - a policy which relates directly to imperial development through nuclear power - uses university staff and facilities for its projects, as well as university personnel to see to it that government policy is properly administered.

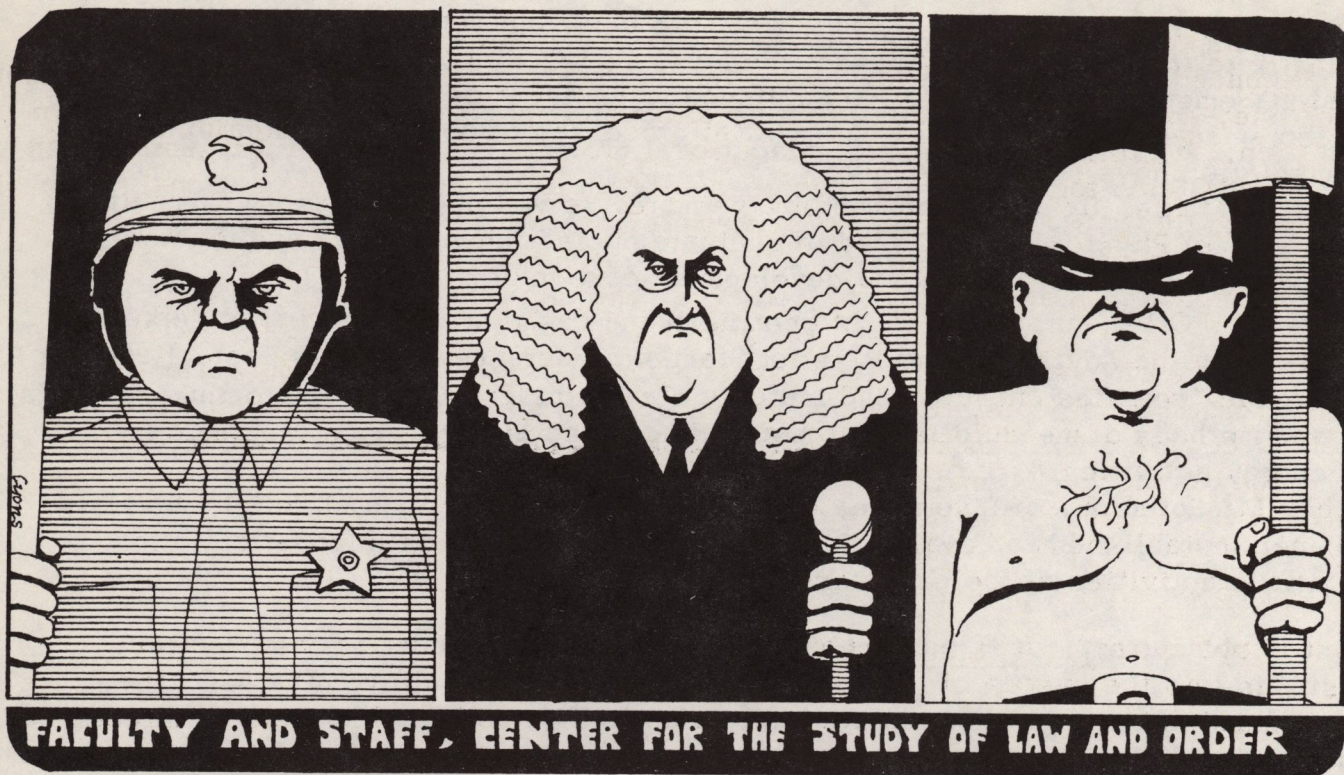
Social Science Research

Center for the Study of Law and Society

"We hope the results will point the way for society to go beyond slogans and resolve the growing tensions between those who insist on stability and others who emphasize accomodation in the "law and order" controversy. These studies might suggest new ways to use the courts in times of crisis, or emergency measures of re-establishing order in a period of turmoil, or means of preserving institutions like universities wracked by conflict."

--Sociology Professor Philip Selznick, chairman of the Center for the Study of Law and Society (quoted in AFSCME paper)

"Under a grant from the Ford Foundation for research on criminal law and social policy, the Center for the Study of Law and Society, a unit of the Earl Warren Legal Institute, is initiating a program of studies on "law and order." (Announcement of the Center) The Center for the Study of Law and Society recognizes two perspectives on law and order. The first is the one we associate with Wallace, Nixon, Reagan, and Hayakawa-the hard line or authoritative approach. The second, which seeks "to maximize responsiveness, may invite more trouble than it bargained for; runs the risk of weakness and vacillation in the face of intimidation; and may yield too much to activist minorities." Both points of view are perspectives which might be held by people who are in control of the police and of the courts - certainly not by the majority of Americans. Clothed in liberal



euphemisms the rhetoric of the Center amounts to pure and simple racism. One associate of the center "has been exploring the history of looting." The Center explains its field of interest, "We have in mind situations where authority is eroded or its legitimacy is questioned." The Center does not question the legitimacy of authority.

Research is also concerned with "in depth" studies conducted on attitudes, such as, "Negro Views of Black Power," and "Characteristics of Special Populations, e.g. 'hippies.'" Rodney Stark of the Sociology Department has founded a "crisis research unit" to conduct a series of brief intensive field studies of "crises of law and order" in the vicinity of the university. Stark has conducted his most recent research on the "Telegraph riots" of the past summer by interviewing many observers and participants.

The Ford Foundation is getting in on ghetto and white rebellions before they occur. In spite of all the liberal rhetoric they only want to know how to prevent crises before they happen or how to deal with them when they occur. The Center for the Study of Law and Society is U.C.B.'s contribution to the rapidly growing fund of knowledge on urban counter-insurgency. Any doubts about whose side they are on should be dispelled by Professor Selznick's statement above.

Institute for International Education

"In the last decade U.S. Corporations have expanded foreign investment by 60% - to 40 billion at the end of 1963 - they recognize abroad as at home that education offers the best means for stimulating purchasing power, encouraging political stability, and most important of all, developing a reservoir of the trained manpower so necessary to their overseas operations."

--"Services to the International Corporation," Institute for International Education

L.L. Medsker, a Professor of Education, is currently directing a University of Chile project financed by the Institute for International Education. Few persons, either academic or otherwise, are familiar with this institute although it plays a key role in U.S. foreign exploitation. Its financial support of educational projects which bring Third World youth to the United States for training has been essential in developing an international ruling class loyal to the U.S. Our researchers attempted on several occasions to obtain documentation concerning the Chile Project which is supposed to be open to public scrutiny. At each attempt the IIS at Berkeley refused to release any information.

The Institute of International Education accepts funds from several foundations including Ford and Carnegie. However, several other foundations which contribute money have either complete CIA ties or partially pass secret funds. Those foundations which accept money from the CIA and pass it on are called "conduits." Below is a list of conduits which pass money for the CIA and contribute to the Institute.

Rubicon Foundation - Kenneth Holland who sits on the board admitted passing CIA funds.

Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs - known conduit, passed funds to NSA

Dodge Foundation - passes some CIA money

Hobby Foundation - passes some CIA money

Dearborn Foundation - All of its funds come directly from the CIA

Asia Foundation - Admitted taking CIA money

Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation - passes some CIA money

A subdivision of the Institute, CHEAR (Council Higher Education American Republic), refuses to make its income public. All of its expenditures are combined with those of the total Institute. The Institute has an enormous and influential Board of Trustees. Some have well-known CIA connections:

Grayson Kirk - Asia Foundation, Columbia University

Mrs. Ronald A. Tree - her former husband, Desmond Fitzgerald, was Deputy Director of the CIA

Kenneth Holland - Member of the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs; Vice-President of American Institute for Free Labor Development; a sponsor for World University Service - all CIA conduits

Mrs. Morris Hadley - Asia Foundation; her husband, Morris Hadley, was on the Eisenhower Doolittle Committee to investigate the CIA

Robert Murphy - Member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

Dudley Bowsel - Head of the American Committee for International Jurists which is heavily financed by the CIA

The Institute for International Education is clearly a potent tool for international corporations in developing loyal elites in Third World Countries which assure stable markets and sources for raw materials. The University of California, with its well-staffed International Studies Institute and its data bank on foreign elites, makes it possible for such organizations to operate.

Institute for International Studies

The Institute for International Studies (I.I.S.) at Berkeley was established in 1955 to coordinate various programs of area studies and comparative international studies as part of a general national trend to make training and research projects more efficient on university campuses. The main purpose of the IIS, according to its bulletin, is to make the Institute "...a key point...between the campus and outside agencies (public and private) interested in international research and assistance programs." In the thirteen years of its existence, the IIS has developed into one of the biggest institutes of foreign affairs in the world. As evidence of its importance to the university and to the governing power structure, the president of the University of California is entrusted with the power to appoint the members of the University Committee for International Training and Research which is charged with co-ordinating the allocation of funds for work on the nine campuses of the University of California. The members of this committee are mainly campus administrators and a few highly trusted faculty members.

A similar committee exists on the Berkeley campus, appointed by the Chancellor, to administer the special funds made available to the IIS by the Ford Foundation for the five year period 1965-70. The millions of dollars given to the IIS by Ford are supplemented by a host of smaller grants for specific projects and studies. The programs which the Department of Defense and the CIA are not able to sponsor because they would then "compromise" the "independent" and "objective" status of the faculty, the Foundations accomplish with respectability and trust. A careful examination of the nature of the research and special projects conducted with these funds will reveal quite clearly that the studies and assistance programs are in the interest of those who run and control the government, big corporate businesses and the university.

The IIS serves as an umbrella organization for various area study centers (Latin America, Asia, etc.) and for special programs and projects.

Special Programs of I.I.S.

The Comparative National Development Program is concerned with the "politics of modernization" and specifically the patterns in the use of power, education and politics emphasizing the role of student movements, universities and intellectuals. Among the special research projects is the Politics of Modernization in Latin America (POMLA), headed by IIS director, Professor David Apter. Although it was funded originally in 1966 by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, the counterinsurgency branch of the Air Force, Apter and the IIS decided that it would be too "compromising" and "embarrassing" to continue the project with "non-objective" defense money and cancelled the Air Force contract. It is replaced with a Ford Foundation grant, but the project itself remained intact. Ford stood in for the Air Force.

Specific studies under the POMLA project include: an Analysis of Spanish Bureaucratic-Patrimonialism in America; History of Civil-Military Relations in Argentina, Chile and Peru, a Discussion of Formation of Political Movements and Parties in Latin America, and An Analysis of Relationships between Politics, Entrepreneurs and Technicians.

Several IIS projects are directly concerned with "gaining a better understanding of various Communist societies.... In view of the scarcity of reliable data, field work is encouraged whenever feasible and visits to Communist nations and efforts at systematic data collection on such key topics as refugees, demographic patterns, and Communist movements are subsidized." This could be a noble undertaking indeed -- if the main objective were to increase public understanding of Communist nations. The difficulty is that these studies can be done on a classified basis, such that they are available only to the U.S. government -- as was the case with Prof. Robert Scalapino's study of the Korean Communist movement until its recent declassification.

The Army and Doctor Scalapino

The following is the text of a Resolution passed by the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, Oct. 16, 1967.

"Except in a state of national emergency as declared by the President or the Congress of the United States of America, and then only in circumstances which require university participation,

- a) No Federal funds shall be accepted by the Berkeley campus that require "classified" research;
- b) Security clearance by the Federal Government shall not be a condition for faculty or student participation in Federally supported research on the Berkeley campus; and
- c) Any research facility on the Berkeley campus shall be open to any qualified faculty member and student within the capacity of that facility to support the research. "



AGAR-S

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20310

IN REPLY REFER TO

30 00 162

Professor Robert A. Scalapino
2850 Buena Vista Way
Berkeley, California 94708

Dear Professor Scalapino:

The review of your research notes pertaining to the Korean Communist Movement, 1945-1964 has been completed. The sixty-four (64) pages have been regraded UNCLASSIFIED and are inclosed with this letter.

When you have completed your manuscript you should submit two copies to the Chief of Public Information, ATTENTION: Office for the Freedom of Information, Office of the Secretary of the Army, Washington, DC, 20310 for a final review.

Sincerely,

Inclosure
Envelope with 64
pages of notes

Kenneth G. Wickham
KENNETH G. WICKHAM
Major General, USA
The Adjutant General

Questions and Qualms:

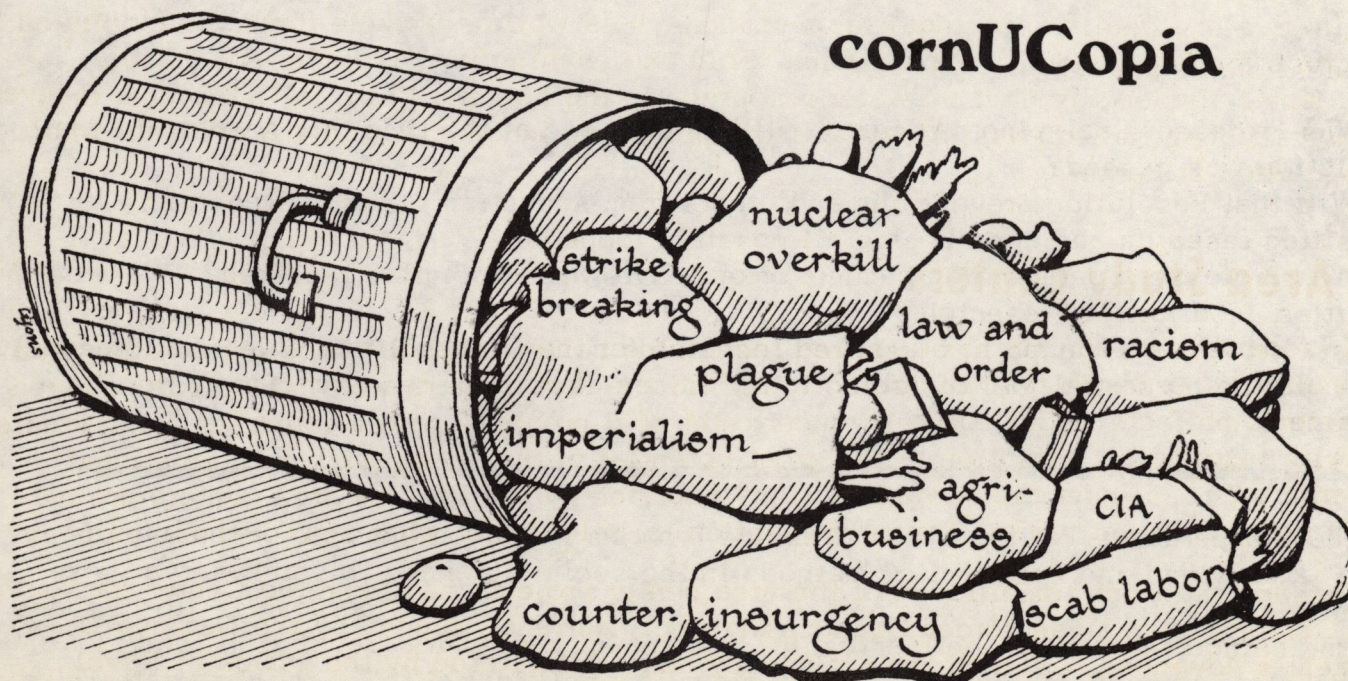
1. Was Professor Scalapino's research still in progress at the time this Academic Senate Resolution was passed?
2. Will that Resolution prevent him and others from accepting individual contracts for classified research and does it plug all possible loopholes?
3. Was Professor Scalapino on campus or on leave while doing his research? Were campus facilities used for this research?
4. Is a professor engaged in classified research for the U.S. military able simultaneously to uphold the purported goal of "objectivity" in social science research and university teaching?

The Comparative Political Elites Archive Program is a good example of the use of "pure" knowledge and "scientific" methods in the social sciences to better serve those in power. Established in 1965 as part of the Ford grant to IIS, its purpose is "to increase understanding of stratification leadership, government, stability, revolution, social change, etc. through analysis of the role played by political elite". The data gathered and stored in computers is drawn primarily from the research results of the several cen-

ters and projects of the IIS. For example: Communist leadership in China, Korea and Vietnam, researched by Robert Scalapino; data on Nepali leaders, connected with the Himalaya project of the IIS, funded in 1968 by the Defense Department, and before that by Ford (see below), data on Indian legislators, Technical elites in Argentina, Chile and Peru, Religious Elites in Latin America, Managerial Elites in Bulgaria, Educational Elites in Latin America, Yugoslav Managerial Elites, Political and Student Elites in North Africa.

As is indicated by the nature of the subject matter, these elite studies are not concerned with those who presently control the governments of the underdeveloped world and their policies, nor with their dependence on the western industrialized countries. No attention is paid to the processes and mechanisms by means of which existing social-economic-political elite groups have retained control over their countries and the ways in which they have actually hindered development, permitting only those kinds of change which are beneficial to their own particular interests. These projects focus, rather, on the movements and individuals which threaten or could potentially threaten existing stability or foreign domination of those countries.

In addition to collecting data, the Berkeley elites project has also co-sponsored with RAND corporation (see section on Hitch) a two part conference on the "Computerization of Chinese Elites Data," the first meeting of which was held in February 1968 in Santa Monica at RAND's headquarters, and the second on the UCB campus in May of 1968. The Berkeley Elites program is projecting expansion into a national data bank of elites information with coordinated centers throughout the country. At the moment the only other centers similar to it are run by the RAND corporation and the Department of Defense. While the Berkeley Data Bank does not currently contain classified information, provisions have already been made for an individual researcher to keep complete control of his data so that what is available to the public at large becomes dependent on the wishes of the researcher.



The IIS collaborates with the Survey Research Center in maintaining this International Data Library and Reference Service, which has been acquiring and cataloguing basic data from important American and foreign surveys of national regional, local and special populations. It has "made a special effort, however, to obtain survey materials from developing nations," particularly in Asia and Latin America. It "maintains a close working relationship with the Social Survey Research Center of the Chinese University in Hong Kong and expects to augment its survey holdings from this part of the world in the near future." Its director is David Nasatir, who is Prof. Scalapino's major collaborator on the Elites Studies.

In 1966 Prof. C. Glock of Sociology, the former director of the Survey Research Center, did a study entitled, "Gaining Access to Social Sciences Information on Closed Societies," which was paid for by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research. Another study carried on during the same year, "Program to Establish an Interarchive of Survey Materials Collected in the Developing Nations of Latin America, Asia, etc.," was financed by the National Science Foundation. Also in that year Glock developed "Exchange Surveys" for the U.S. Information Agency of the State Department (USIA). In 1968 Glock received another grant from the Air Force Office of Scientific Research which is currently financing Paul Wong's study on "Storage and Retrieval of Data on Communist China." Glock's grant is to study "Informational Systems for an Enclaved Society." The Air Force Office of Scientific Research is generally well known for its assistance to studies useful for counter-insurgency research. Clearly, these data-collection projects have their uses for American ventures overseas.

The Professional Schools Program of the IIS is financed by a \$500,000, five year Ford Foundation grant for "international work" of the professional schools at UCB. Professional schools include, for example, Agricultural Economics, Public Administration, Business Administration, Criminology, Education, Engineering and Public Health. The program is designed to provide research and training facilities for foreign and American students in research, aid projects, and participation abroad in work related to their individual fields; its rationale also includes "narrowing the gap between research and policy and increasing the cooperation of social scientists and professionals. According to the program's statement of objectives, it will "encourage and support bold imaginative and challenging inquiries and ideas," as well as provide funds for individual and group faculty projects. Among such "bold and imaginative" projects are these: Prof. James Herder's project on water resources in the Mekong Delta in Thailand; a redevelopment program in northwest Mexico; and a project in Indonesia studying students who have studied at Berkeley.

Area Study Centers

In recent years the IIS has acquired increasing control over the once autonomous area study centers at Berkeley. According to the IIS the area centers were previously engaged in esoteric projects with little relevance to the real problems of the countries being studied and with insufficient attention to the great potential of the "comparative-international" research focus. Under the "new direction" imparted by the IIS, the area centers are certainly doing relevant work. The only question is: relevant to what and to whose purpose?

Perhaps the most "ambitious" of the area center projects has been the Center for South Asia Center's Himalayan Border Countries Project, currently funded by the Defense Department's Advanced Research Project Agency and administered by the Office of Naval Research. The grant of \$282,840 extends for a three year period. Previously the same

project was sponsored by the Ford Foundation. The Defense Department's continuation of the old project is headed by Assistant Professor Leo Rose of the political science department and the principal investigator is Professor Robert Scalapino of the same department. The details of this project are so revealing that we reprint, as an appendix to this section, the texts of two public memoranda written by Professor Gerald Berreman of the Anthropology Department who resigned from the project.

Although their work has been less offensive, the other area study centers at Berkeley have also been active. The Center for Near Eastern Studies published a book by its director, W. M. Brimmer, professor of near eastern languages, Ideology, Organization and Political Modernization: the Politics of the Military in the Middle East and North Africa. The project which resulted in this work was financed by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research which is notorious for its funding of counter-insurgency research.

The Center for South East Asia Studies, directed by Herbert Phillips, has used funds from the Asia Foundation (admitted conduit of CIA funds) to build up its library. Professor Phillips has recently cooperated with the U.S. Army to do research in Thailand on counter-insurgency work.

The Center for Latin American Studies has defined for itself an important role in analyzing the economies of the Latin nations. "The possibilities for international cooperation are extraordinary," its bulletin optimistically states. "They can be fully exploited by taking advantage of the decidedly improved and sophisticated knowledge of North American economists about the specific problems of Latin American development." Increasing collaboration between North and South American economists has resulted, "at the same time . . . (in) the ideological content of Latin American economic studies (being) gradually . . . replaced by a more objective and practical approach to the studying of economic problems. Debates of an earlier era about U.S. Imperialism and Latin American graft seem strangely out of place in a discussion of cost/effectiveness, marginal capital output ratios, and education as a form of social overhead capital investment." (Annual Report, 1967)

One example of the Center's "objective" projects is the Brazil Development Assistance Program, established in 1965 and administered jointly by the Latin American Center and the Department of Economics. It is funded by the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID). In addition to establishing a research center on Brazil at Berkeley, the project sends a field group to Rio de Janeiro, currently headed by Albert Fishlow of the Economics Department, to assist the research arm of the Brazilian Ministry of Planning and the Institute of Applied Economic Research. The program's objective is to "assist" in the application of economic analysis to planning and policy questions with emphasis upon guiding and conducting relevant research and training of junior personnel for the Brazilian government. It seems of little concern to the scholars involved that in aiding the present government of Brazil, they help serve an unconstitutional and dictatorial regime which last October arrested 1000 students for "subversive" activities, has recently launched a new wave of repression against even the "official" or legal opposition, and whose U.S.-advised economic policies have hardly reduced existing socio-economic inequalities.

Together with the School of Education, the Latin American Center also sponsors an AID-financed Education for Development project. This program supports several "technical assistance" Projects, such as one in Colombia set up by members of the Berkeley faculty to offer "advice to the Association of Colombian Universities in their efforts to

develop a master plan for higher education in Colombia." A similar project to establish junior colleges in Chile is also underway. Certainly no one can accuse Berkeley of not contributing its fair share to the so-called "Alliance for Progress." The only question is: alliance for whose progress?

Funding & Significance of I.I.S. Projects

Acknowledging the increasingly "political" and "sensitive" nature of the use of government and foundation funds in social science research, the IIS directors recently issued a memo stating its policies regarding these matters. The memo stipulates the following points:

"(1) Individual and group projects are, first of all, the concern and interest of the faculty members themselves, and their rights as free scholars must be preserved.

(2) The Institute has established procedures designed to ensure as best it can that proposed research meets the highest scholarly standards according to broad criteria. Since the Institute is an academic body run on the basis of faculty committees, such evaluation takes the form of judgement by peers.

(3) No project or request for support can be approved or forwarded, even if it meets the highest scholarly standards, if the source of funds cannot be publicly acknowledged.

(4) No project can be regarded as acceptable either for Institute or extramural funds if an outside agency designs the basic character of the research without the full participation and agreement of a faculty member."

While placing some limitations on the more obvious forms of academic prostitution (e.g. secret research funding), this statement of policy leaves large and important gaps. First, although no project will be approved "if the source of funds cannot be publicly acknowledged," this does not guarantee that the source of funding will be disclosed in all cases. In effect under this policy, the burden lies upon students and other outsiders to make a point of inquiring about the funding for a particular project. Often the question will never be raised. Secondly, the fourth point (that no project designed by an outside agency (presumably government) will be acceptable "without full participation and agreement of a faculty member" has little practical significance; for there will always be some faculty member willing to "participate fully in and agree to" a project designed by, say, the Pentagon - if only because he is interested in the same subject and agrees with the objectives of the American military abroad. Thirdly, although the Institute itself might not accept government money for classified research, there is nothing in these guidelines to prevent individual faculty from doing so. The key to the entire policy is the notion of faculty autonomy, as stressed in the first point of the IIS memo: "their rights as free scholars" here refers less to the lack of censorship than to the freedom to engage in whatever research they choose, regardless of its consequences for other scholars, for their own ability to be "objective," and, most important (but never mentioned) for the people in the countries under study - the "subjects" of the research. Although the IIS claims to be currently holding discussions about stiffening these policies, thus far no action has been taken.

But even if the funding guidelines were strengthened, there is a question much more fundamental than funding policies, which can be controlled to some extent but for which loopholes can always be found: the nature of the research itself. As is so often argued by "pragmatic" scholars, even if a certain research project were not being funded for example by the Defense Department, this would not prevent the Pentagon from making use

of its findings. This is certainly true; but, rather than closing the subject, this raises the basic issue of the general direction of American social science research abroad, particularly in developing nations, and of the general objectives which it serves. Of course as is constantly pointed out, there is nothing to prevent young American social scientists from doing research on the entrenched power structures being supported by the U.S. in developing nations, or on overt American domination in those nations -- nothing, that is, except the lack of research funds and institutions for such projects. (It is ironic that even a course in "Imperialism and Revolution" by one of the most knowledgeable students of American imperialism, could not be offered for credit this quarter at Berkeley; in order to get credit for these lectures, students must resort to the "back-door" device of enrolling for 198's and 199's ("independent study"). If even a course in imperialism cannot be taught outright at Berkeley, so much the less are research funds available for systematic studies of that subject.) Indeed, until institutions like the IIS take an active role in reorienting the direction of American research abroad, questions about the "uses of knowledge" -- even scholarly "objective" research -- will be continually raised.

Meanwhile, those connected with IIS continue to insist that their work is determined by "objective, academic" standards alone. Bypassing the fundamental issues of the uses of knowledge, they argue the "neutrality" of research. Moreover, IIS directors are most emphatic in denying the secret or classified nature of their research. In view of the fact that they have "nothing to hide," it was rather surprising that, after attempts were made to obtain details about IIS projects, the following memo was issued:

To: Staff of the Institute

October 25, 1968

The Institute of International Studies has been under continuous review and examination for the past several years. Its activities have been open for public scrutiny by responsible persons who would like information on our research, sources of funds, and the character of our field studies.

Given the troubled relationships which characterize universities and the society in which they function, this is perfectly understandable, and indeed, desirable. But when individuals take it upon themselves, either in the community at large or from the press, to make inquiries in a more or less surreptitious fashion about our work, we find this both annoying and an interference in the academic autonomy of this institution.

I should appreciate it, therefore, if any unauthorized inquiries (i.e., those which have not been discussed in advance with the Directors of the Institute) could be reported immediately to me.

David E Apter
Director

cc: Chancellor Heyns



Appendix A: Berreman's First Letter

January 12, 1968

Dr. Leo E. Rose
Himalayan Border Countries Project
Institute of International Studies
University of California, Berkeley

Dear Leo:

I have recently learned that the Himalayan Border Countries Project has been awarded funds by the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) of the Department of Defense in the amount of \$282,840.00 for a period of three years, beginning June 15, 1967 (Contract No. N00014-67-A-0114-0011). I understand that the contract is to be administered, and the monies paid, by the Office of Naval Research, with Professor Robert A. Scalapino as Principal Investigator, and yourself as head of the research program.

As you know, I have been associated with the project for approximately seven years, during which time it has been funded by the Ford Foundation supplemented from University sources. In the research proposal for the current ARPA grant, I note that I am listed as one of a three-person Faculty Advisory Committee for the project, along with Professor Wolfram Eberhard and Dr. Margaret Fisher. Twelve items which I have authored are cited in Appendix A: "List of Publications by Himalayan Border Countries Project Staff (1960-1966)." I am also listed as one of the fourteen people comprising "Personnel and Staff" of the Project (four of whom are University of California personnel, three of them at Berkeley), and my field research in the Indian Himalaya is cited.

I am writing to sever my connections with this project in response to the fact that it is now being funded under contract with a Defense Department agency (ARPA) with military (evidently Navy) money. I wish to remain unassociated with the project so long as it is so funded. I also protest the solicitation of that sponsorship and its acceptance by yourself, Professor Scalapino, the Institute of International Studies and by others concerned and responsible within the University.

I think you know some of my reasons, but let me state them. In the context of the illegal involvement of this country in the war in Vietnam, I cannot accept research money from an agency whose primary interest and purpose is the prosecution of that war and the furtherance of policies which are likely to lead to similar wars including wars in the very area of my research endeavor. No American can avoid complicity in the genocidal war the administration of this country is now pursuing nor, perhaps, in its potential expansion into South Asia including the Himalayas, but I am morally bound to minimize my complicity. My knowledge of the Himalayan peoples and my research capabilities there are among the few possessions I have which this administration wants for the furtherance of its policies in that part of the world. I am bound to withhold them, and I am proud to do so. In so doing I join the late eminent anthropologist Robert Redfield who suggested that anthropologists must "place ourselves squarely on the side of mankind, unashamed to wish mankind well, and unwilling to sell our souls for money or professional advantage to the anti-human forces in society." Today ARPA, the Defense Department and the Navy epitomize the expression of anti-human forces in this country and in the world.

These agencies are not disinterested patrons of scholarship nor of furtherance of an understanding of the Himalayan peoples and nations. I can imagine only one reason for

their support of this project: to provide information useful in the application of force, including violence and intrigue, to enforce, support or initiate policies in the Himalayan region which are favored by this administration--policies such as "containing" or pushing back China, "freeing" Tibet, supporting insurgency in Tibet, supporting counter-insurgency in northeastern India, supporting strongly pro-American elements throughout this region. I want no part of this. I feel a positive obligation to oppose it.

I do not question the motives of yourself or any of the personnel in the project. I do not even expect that any or all of us could contribute a great deal toward the aims of the Department of Defense in that part of the world. But we do represent a fair proportion of Americans knowledgeable and capable in the area. Therefore, the fact of our association with ARPA and the Defense Department could in itself contribute to realization of administration aims there quite apart from our substantive contributions. My conscience, therefore, prevents me from being associated in the slightest way with the project under its present sponsorship.

If they came from innocuous sources I would, of course, welcome the funds which you have indicated would be available to me in the project. I have research interests I would like to pursue in the Himalayas, and sources of funds are becoming increasingly scarce, especially as budgets tighten to support the war--a pinch anthropologists are feeling acutely this year. But I will go without rather than contribute even so much as my name to research contributing to the current war or to its ramifications and anticipated ramifications in South Asia and the Himalayas.

I have stated my moral reasons for disassociating myself from the project as presently sponsored. They are overriding, but there is a practical side as well which I would draw to the attention of all staff members of the project. It seems unlikely that one would be permitted by the governments of host nations to pursue anthropological research (and presumably most other social science research which takes place in the countryside) if it were known that the money came directly from the United States military establishment. I would doubt that my visa, for example, would be approved under those conditions. Even if it were, I would expect pressure for termination of the research to mount in the press and in public opinion--pressure which, even if it did not lead to official expulsion, would eliminate the possibility of useful anthropological research. Anthropological research depends upon trust, confidence and rapport which are difficult to achieve and to maintain even under the best of circumstances. This point has been extensively documented by the Committee on Research Problems and Ethics of the American Anthropological Association in a report entitled "Background Information on Problems of Anthropological Research and Ethics," prepared by Professor Ralph L. Beals of U.C.L.A. (Chairman of the Committee) and the Executive Board of the Association. It was published in the American Anthropological Association Fellow Newsletter Vol. 8, No. 1 (January 1967) pages 1-13. Based on this report, the Executive Board of the Association prepared a "Statement on Problems of Anthropological Research and Ethics" which was adopted by the Fellows of the Association in 1967. It said in part:

"Anthropologists engaged in research in foreign areas should be especially concerned with the possible effects of their sponsorship and sources of financial support. Although the Department of Defense and other mission-oriented branches of the Government support some basic research in the social sciences, their sponsorship may nevertheless create an extra hazard in the conduct of fieldwork and jeopardize future access to research opportunities in the areas studied." (II, 4)

The Project Camelot fiasco is only one of many recent manifestations of these problems. The reported role of Michigan State University and the CIA in South Vietnam and the part social scientists have played in the Pentagon's "Project Agile" have furthered and lent

credence to the suspicions which lead to these problems. The Himalayan Border Countries Project, under Pentagon sponsorship, might inadvertently become another in this list of infamous social science enterprises.

Therefore, on practical grounds I could not work on this project under its present sponsorship. More importantly, on moral grounds I will not.

I urge that the matter be reconsidered--that we relinquish the Defense Department contract and seek support elsewhere. I will be happy to help to achieve this in any way I can. In the meantime, I must urge the staff participants and the responsible individuals and agencies within the Institute of International Studies and the University to carefully consider the matters I have raised, in the hope that they will appreciate the issues and join me in severing their connections with this compromising source of funds.

Sincerely yours,
Gerald D. Berreman
Professor

Appendix B: Berreman's Second Letter

19-A Balbir Road
Dehra Dun, U.P., India
October 24, 1968

To: Professor John J. Gumperz, Chairman
Center for South Asia Studies
Institute of International Studies
University of California, Berkeley

From: Gerald D. Berreman, Professor, Department of Anthropology

Subject: Himalayan Border Countries Project and the problem of Indian visas.

Recent events concerning the Himalayan Border Countries Project in India together with the consequences of those events and the publicity surrounding them lead me to attempt a relatively brief report on the subject. I do so because the issue here in India focused on me and I was present and closely involved while it occurred. I am sending the report to you because the Center and more especially the Institute of International Studies at Berkeley are also centrally involved. I hope you will circulate it to those concerned including especially those in the Project, in the Center, in the Institute, and those responsible for research in the University.

There is doubtless and understandably much misinformation and erroneous speculation on the issue at Berkeley, just as there has been here in India and elsewhere. In fact, some of it has trickled back to me. I hope that I can rectify some of this. Because the events are complex, I shall begin with a chronological report followed by a brief commentary.

Chronology:

On January 12, 1968, in a letter to Dr. Leo E. Rose, I resigned my affiliation with the Himalayan Border Countries Project, "in response to the fact that it is now being funded under contract with a Defense Department agency (ARPA) with military (evidently Navy) money." In that letter, copies of which were sent to all participants in the Project and to relevant administrative officers in the Institute of International Studies and the Berkeley campus of the University, I set my reasons forth fully, citing both my discovery only a month before of the source of sponsorship and my subsequent careful verification of that discovery. In a statement which later seemed ironically prophetic I said: "It seems to me unlikely that one would be permitted by the governments of host nations to pursue anthropological research...if it were known that the money came directly from the United States military establishment I would doubt that my visa, for example, would be approved under these conditions." I also sent a copy of this letter to Senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for his information because I knew that **he was concerned with** Defense Department sponsorship of social science research and was working toward legislation to create a National Social Science Foundation which would eliminate most such sponsorship for non-military research.

On February 29, 1968, I again wrote Dr. Rose, pointing out that an eminent Indian visitor, Director of the Indian Institute of Advance Study, had expressed **almost** identical concern, not about the Himalayan Project (about which he did not know so far as I am aware), but about Defense Department sponsorship of social science research in general in India. Copies of this letter were sent also to all concerned and to Senator Fulbright.

In May, these two letters were included by Senator Fulbright in the record of the hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate: "Defense Department Sponsored Foreign Affairs Research" (dated May 9, release May 21). This coorespondence comprised four of the ninety-eight pages in the document.

Meanwhile, on April 22, the Institute of International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education, awarded me a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship for advance research abroad (in India) to do an urban study in the city of Dehra Dun. Shortly thereafter I was also appointed visiting Professor (without stipend) at Delhi University, in the Department of Sociology, by Professor M.N. Srinivas

Also, in May, I applied to the Indian Consulate General in San Francisco for a one-year visa and on May 29, that request was forwarded by the Consul General to the Home Ministry in India for action. Shortly after I had applied for the visa, I was invited to a conference on "Urgent Problems in Indian Social Anthropology" sponsored by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study and by the Smithsonian Institution, to be held in Simla, India, July 15-20, 1968. This accelerated my proposed departure date by seven weeks, giving insufficient time for issuance of the one-year visa until the last minute, and upon the advice of the Consul General, I took a two-month visa (issued July 3), expecting to pick up the regular visa in India. I departed for India on July 9, arriving July 13, and proceeding at once to the Simla Conference.

Upon returning to Delhi after the conference, I found my visa still pending, along with those of all other Fulbright-Hays grantees. According to officials of the United

States Educational Foundation in India who investigated the problem thoroughly, this was evidently a consequence of two things, (1) a general tightening up on the issuance of visas to American social scientists (or perhaps to all social scientists from abroad), including especially a policy to scrutinize carefully each applicant individually, and (2) a specific failure of communication between the Government of India and the granting agency (Institute of International Studies of the Office of Education) regarding the nature of the Fulbright-Hays award (emanating from the Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare) and its relationship, if any, to the well-known Fulbright award (emanating from the Dept. of State). Fulbright scholars were cleared with the Government of India by the U.S. Educational Foundation in India. Fulbright-Hays scholars were not, and this led the Government of India to question these apparently uncleared "Fulbright" scholars.

On July 21, the Sunday Statesman (Delhi) carried a brief item datelined New York, July 20, saying the Himalayan Project of the University of California, Berkeley, was financed by the Department of Defense, citing congressional testimony released by Admiral Rickover in which Senator Fulbright had mentioned the Project, its Department of Defense financing, and the fact that "he had received a protest about the project from a California university professor who feared that the defense financing of the project might cause problems for American research in India. This was the first report in India mentioning the Project, and no mention was made of individuals, research undertakings, visas or the like, just as the Project had not been mentioned in any of the negotiations for my visa or the visas of others in my position. There was no follow-up on the Statesman article, and I proceeded shortly to Dehra Dun, the locus of my proposed research.

Two and one-half weeks later, on August 6, I saw an article in The Patriot indicating that the issue of the Himalayan Project and its Department of Defense funding had been raised on the floor of the Lok Sabha. The importance attached to the issue and to the fact of its having been raised in parliament is indicated by the fact that both the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. B. R. Ghagat, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, made immediate and detailed comment which was quoted extensively in the press. Mr. Ghagat's statement was made before the Lok Sabha itself. I was mentioned several times by name, both as one who had resigned from the Project, and as one who was currently in India as a participant in the Project. It was stated that I was here "to study an administrative-cum-religious centre in the Himalayas" under Defense Department financing. (Note that this was a project quite different from that for which I was awarded the Fulbright-Hays Fellowship, and to be carried out in a different town in a different area. It was a project which I had proposed to the Himalayan Project two or three years earlier, before Defense Department funding was sought or contemplated. I had not proposed it elsewhere.) For several days the press was full of the story. A newspaper strike had silenced all but The Patriot and the National Herald in this part of India, both of the left-wing papers which seemed to delight in the discomfiture of the government officials who permitted the Himalayan Project and who had awarded visas to some of its personnel.

I at once wrote to Mr. Ghagat, to Mrs. Gandhi, and to those who had raised the issue in the Lok Sabha, pointing out that I was not here to undertake the study mentioned in the reports, that since January I had not been associated with the Himalayan



Project, and that I was not receiving and had not received money directly or indirectly from the Defense Department for my research. This was the first time I had had any correspondence with government officials or anyone else in India about the Himalayan Project, its program, its funding, or any related issue. So far as I can ascertain, the Government of India, as well as those concerned in the Lok Sabha and others learned of it through the testimony released publicly by Admiral Rickover, and from no other source.

Things happened rapidly. Before my letters had been received in Delhi, I was called to Delhi to see Mr. T. N. Kaul, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs--the key man in this issue. I spent an hour with him and two of his associates in his office, during which time he asked a great deal about my research, the Himalayan Project, its funding and its personnel. I believe that, although I made very clear my disassociation from the Project and its current financing, I also made a fair case for the Project, and a strong case for the innocence and legitimacy of the research and of the motives of the researchers in the Project. Mr. Kaul expressed dismay at the Department of Defense financing and the fact that he and his office had not been informed of it. He showed me a letter written in December, 1967, in Delhi, by Dr. Rose, seeking approval of the Project, outlining its program, and citing ARPA (Advanced Research Projects Agency) as the source of funds. Mr. Kaul made it clear that there was no inkling on his part that ARPA meant Department of Defense sponsorship, and he indicated (perhaps with the advantage of hindsight) that that knowledge would have been an important factor to be considered by his Ministry in approving the Project. Now his Ministry was faced with new and (in the circumstances) embarrassing and ominous information, namely, that the Department of Defense of the United States was sponsoring research in India's sensitive border areas without the Government of India knowing about it.

Mr. Kaul also showed me that that letter was the source of the reports that I was in India as a member of the Project, for in the letter I was listed as one of several researchers representative of those on the Project and I was described as planning "to study a Himalayan administrative-cum-religious centre". Since I was now in India, it had been assumed I was doing what Dr. Rose had said I planned to do.

During the next few days I saw most of those in Delhi who were concerned with the issue including, besides Mr. Kaul and members of his staff, the member of parliament who raised the issue in the Lok Sabha (Mr. T. K. Chaudhuri), the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Dr. N. K. Bose, the most highly placed anthropologist in the Government of India). I corresponded with Dr. Surajit Sinha in Calcutta, Deputy Director of the Anthropological Survey in India (to which applications to do anthropological research in India are referred by the Government of India). I also corresponded with Dr. Niharranjin Ray, Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study who knows the Prime Minister and had already written her about me, supplying her with the accurate information contained in her statement. I was called in by the Deputy Chief of Mission of the U. S. Embassy (Mr. Weathersby). I talked frequently with staff members of the United States Educational Foundation in India, especially with its Director, Dr. Robert Holmes, and its Finance Officer, Mr. C. Ramakrishnan. The latter handled all of the work in getting visas cleared for the Fulbright-Hays Fellows and a number of other American research scholars. All of these were most useful and satisfying interviews. The response was supportive from all quarters. I was also interviewed by correspondents from The New York Times (Mr. Lelyveld) The Washington Post (Mr. Nossiter), and The Hindu (Special Correspondent), all of whom wrote very fair accounts of the issue (see their stories in those papers of Aug. 14, Aug. 15 and Aug. 19, respectively).

Nevertheless, the visas were not yet issued. I was scheduled to go to the International Congress of Ethnological and Anthropological Sciences in Tokyo, Sept. 2-10, so I went ahead without my visa, but with reasonable assurance that it would be forthcoming and that I need not be in Delhi to further expedite it. It was granted at the Indian Embassy in Tokyo on August 27. Visas were simultaneously granted to my family, who had been waiting in the U. S., and they promptly joined me. Two and one-half weeks later I was back in India, to pursue my research. No further repercussions have come my way. I understand that visas have been granted to all of the Fulbright-Hays grantees.

I understand that Dr. James Downs of the University of Arizona, who came to India to study Tibetan refugees in Mussoorie, a Himalayan "hill station" near here, and who was a member of the Himalayan Border Countries Project, was required to leave the Himalayan area. In some anomalous way, his visa had apparently been approved without his project having been approved, so, while he was allowed to remain in India, he was not allowed to do the proposed project. Whether or not he was receiving money under the Himalayan Project's ARPA grant I do not know. When I saw him briefly he was planning to go to Mysore to study the Tibetan refugees there. More recently I have heard that he may be leaving India altogether. The reasons for this must be at least partly financial. I do not know what has been done about the Himalayan Project's ARPA grant, but if it has been withheld or withdrawn, and if Dr. Downs was relying on it this would obviously undercut his proposed project even if he were to adapt it to meet Government of India approval.

It was made clear to me by the responsible officials in Delhi that social science research sponsored by the Department of Defense will not be allowed in India and that no American social science research in politically sensitive areas of the Himalayas will be allowed henceforth. To ensure this, all research applications will be carefully and individually scrutinized.

Comment:

Most of the significance of this unfortunate imbroglio is evident from the facts (and occasional interpretations) recounted above. Therefore I will simply emphasize a few points.

(1) Events demonstrated clearly that acceptance of Defense Department funding for the Himalayan Project was a serious mistake, jeopardizing not only that Project, but all American research in India. It was the fact, not the manner of such funding which was at issue. Therefore, precautions taken in the wording of the contract were irrelevant. The 1967 statement of the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association, quoted in my letter of resignation, put it very clearly: "...Although the Department of Defense and other mission-oriented branches of the Government support some basic research in the social sciences, their sponsorship may nevertheless create an extra hazard in the conduct of fieldwork and jeopardize future access to research opportunities in the areas studied."

The outcome was inevitable. It could hardly be otherwise in a sovereign state whose watchword has been non-alignment and which has a wide, watchful and vociferous political spectrum. Indians could not be expected to allow the Defense establishment of a foreign power to conduct research in their most sensitive political problem areas, and they would have to be expected to react sharply if it appeared that this were the case and that they

were not fully informed. A brief excerpt from an irate and widely read editorial will indicate the nature of the problem for the Government of India:

"The External Affairs Ministry seems to be innocent of many things, and the Educational Ministry is not only innocent but ignorant. But someone in authority should have known the implications of such a project as the California University's research on the Himalayan border countries. The university's authorities could not have been innocent or ignorant of what research in the Himalayan border means, and if there was any doubt among others, it should now be dispelled by the report that the project has been partly funded by an agency of the mighty U. S. Defense Department.

". . . The Government should have been correctly advised on the Himalayan project by someone in the External Affairs Ministry or elsewhere. An examination of the project is now promised; but it should never have been approved by anyone alive to the nation's self-respect and security.

". . . No outside agency should have been allowed to go near the Himalayan border, in the name of research, even if it only meant bird-watching.

". . . Whichever organisation in the United States finances it, research and intelligence have been so inextricably involved during the post-war period that the Government, who should have been long ago aware of the pseudo-scholarly probes of foreign strategic services, should not have allowed themselves to be caught unawares. . . ."

(National Herald, August 7, 1968;

Editorial: "Himalayan Blunder")

The Himalayan Project did not originate the problem; it was brewing for a long time and the Project simply walked into it. This point has been made emphatically by American scholars and administrators in India and by those who work closely with them. Specifically, Professor J. Michael Mahar (University of Arizona, currently Fulbright scholar in India) and Dr. Robert Holmes, and Mr. C. Ramakrishnan (Director and Finance officer, respectively, of the U. S. Educational Foundation in India) have pointed out the increasing difficulty in getting visas cleared before the Himalayan Project incident. Delays had become routine; denials had become more common. They attribute the situation partly to suspicion about the aims of foreign research, partly to nationalism and mild xenophobia, and partly to the political situation in India which makes the dominant Congress Party vulnerable, as its dominance has slipped, to attacks such as that in the editorial quoted above.

Mr. Ramakrishnan of USEFI, has gone into the matter in greater detail, I think, than anyone outside of the Government of India. He reported that USEFI is extremely gratified that the whole matter came up as and when it did and he said that the U. S. Embassy shares this view. He said that USEFI and other American research scholars are in fact indebted to me. I will explain briefly, not in self-congratulation (for I was not instrumental in this) but simply for information, which Mr. Ramakrishnan says he will be happy to confirm. What he and the Embassy people believe is that a blow-up over Department of Defense-sponsored social science research in India and specifically over the Himalayan Border Countries Project, was inevitable. They think that if the HBCP had actually engaged in research for some time under Department of Defense sponsorship when the blow-up came, it would have been a major scandal and all American social science research in India would likely have been terminated. It would have been a very serious matter indeed. They think it fortunate that the issue came to light before research had been commenced under this funding, for this enabled

it to be resolved without major embarrassment to the Government of India. It was thus resolved preventively rather than punitively and with minimal repercussions on American research and the American scholarly reputation in India.

Moreover, they think that the fact that it was I who was the focus of the controversy here in India was fortunate since I proved to have shared the kind of disapproval of the funding expressed in parliament and the press. I cushioned the impact because I was not a villain in anyone's eyes in India, yet I was the person and the name associated with the presumably villainous project. This dissipated much of the criticism of the project and saved the Government considerable embarrassment. Also, I was fortunate in having strong personal support from quarters where it counted, namely from professional colleagues with influence, especially Dr. N. K. Bose, Dr. S. Sinha, Dr. N. Ray, and R. M. N. Srinivas. The Government asked these men about me and they were all strongly supportive.

The feeling in USEFI and the Embassy is that the air has been cleared and the prospects for continued American social science research in India are brighter than had been the case prior to this incident. Anxieties have been expressed, policies stated, and suspicion perhaps diminished. True, Defense Department funds are out for research in India (a fact I applaud rather than regret), and research in the Indian Himalayas seems to be out for the time being (a fact which I regret but which was inevitable)--but research elsewhere in India remains relatively open for American scholars.

(2) The importance of institutional affiliation in India cannot be over-estimated. My affiliation with Delhi University was crucial both for official purposes and unofficial ones. Indian academics repeatedly have expressed resentment about American scholars who come to India with huge sums of money to do research and do not even inform their Indian colleagues of their presence or their plans. It is imperative that Indian scholars be treated as colleagues in the full sense. There must be reciprocity in the relationship. We must provide benefits to Indian scholarship if India is to give us the benefit of research opportunities. I think many of us have underestimated the importance of this to the future of American research in India. It came out very explicitly in the Simla conference referred to above. Minimal benefits we can provide include lecturing at universities, employing and training student assistants, incorporating Indian scholars in our research, engaging in cooperative research, arranging to help Indian students and scholars to study, teach and do research in America. The more we reciprocate, the more support we can expect. Often the support is not needed, but when it is, it can be crucial.

(3) Finally, I think it imperative that in the Institute of International Studies at Berkeley, as in all such institutions, no sponsorship be sought or accepted without full approval from those in whose names it is sought or accepted. There must be full information and full discussion of sources and terms among those whose names will be listed as affiliated with a project. This may seem self-evident, but obviously it needs statement. No name should be appended to any project, to any grant proposal, to any request for funds without express, and fully informed, permission of the individual concerned. I, for example, was delighted to be a participant in the Himalayan Border Countries Project, but was appalled that my name was included as a member of it in an application to the Department of Defense without my knowledge, and that it was included in a summary of that project presented to the Government of India after Department of Defense sponsorship had been received by the project.

I also think it imperative that the opinions of project members be taken seriously and be fully considered in matters relating to the project. The Advisory Committee to the Hima

layan Border Countries Project was never consulted on the funding for that project by the Defense Department. When the funding was accomplished, the Institute administration took very little interest in my concern and objection (although I was both a member of the Project and of its Advisory Committee). I regret this now as I did then for my motive was to protect the Project, the University and social science research in India from what I regarded (correctly, it seems) as real jeopardy. Unable to accomplish this (the Institute informed me, in one sentence, that precautions had been taken to preclude the problems I feared), I protected myself by resigning from the project. If I had not, I would be back in Berkeley and, with a good many others, looking for new research possibilities outside of India. I am aware that money is necessary to carry on research, and that my objections were to a source of money where no other source was immediately available. But here, long term considerations must be paramount. Perhaps this is an inherent problem with research organizations--they must keep going day-to-day, so that long-term considerations are irksome and are likely to be subordinated when they conflict with short-term financing. If so, the organization should be changed to serve the purposes of research. It seems that in this instance, the research was jeopardized to serve the purposes of the organization.

I know that we need money for research. I am confident that our motives and methods in the Himalayan Project were entirely legitimate. But culture does not work by economic principle or even principles we might define as rational. When people regard situations as real, they are often real in their consequences. This sociological dictum is what I tried to point out with reference to Indian responses to American military sponsorship of research in the Himalayas, regardless of the purity of that research. It does not do us much good to know the nature of human behavior if we cannot apply that knowledge to our own research planning.

Conclusion

We have shown Cal's deep implication in the aggressive and willfully destructive society that is the United States. Conceiving of itself as a dutiful servant, the University does not blink at its Regents being men of business who seek to make a good business of the University and to use its tax-gained monies to invest in their own private companies. Nor does it raise its eyebrows at academic credit for military training. Why should it when its professors and institutes lend their efforts to even more efficient ways of producing and packaging death, when graduate students in physics know that they must have high level security clearance to work on the most advanced problems in their field, when professors in the social sciences lend their not inconsiderable talents to increasing the counter-revolutionary potential of the U.S., and when the University's president and over half its budget come to us direct from the Defense Department? Can one wonder either that Martin Luther King Hall (five-sixths of which was paid for by compulsory student contributions) is named by the University Zellerbach Hall after the company which exploits poor blacks and whites alike while upholding the racism of that citadel of segregation, Bogalusa, Louisiana?

For those of us who still share the vision that led of necessity to the American Revolution, a vision of a land of freedom, equality and justice for all, America's domestic racism and foreign imperialism are intolerable and we have been in motion these years to rid this country of them. We have moved from the early optimism and naivete of the civil rights and peace movements to the greater realism of the Black Power/Self-determination and anti-war movements, but in doing so we have been too polite with the university, too willing to hear its rhetoric and ignore its reality. For many the university has seemed to be the province of the crusading "us" and the infidel "them."

We have tried to indicate in the body of this report just how deeply involved in the evils of this country this University is. In a sense we have failed. Time and again we have had to drop leads on University involvement because the University and its cynical patrons are sophisticated at covering their tracks and thereby maintaining what remains of the University's cherished mask of autonomy and disinterested inquiry. So the matter is worse than we make out, but what we have offered should be enough to indicate the need to shed our naivete and self-deceiving fantasies about the University. The time is well nigh to put away childish things, to understand that we are Jonahs inside the great white whale of American iniquity.

This is not meant to be understood as a call to destroy the university or to deny the possibility and need of teaching, education and research devoted to authentic needs, experiences, and aspirations of men. Rather it is a call to a disciplined awareness and struggle with those who use the covering of noble ideals to obscure their ignoble dealings in death, deception, and destruction. It is a call to distinguish what is genuine from what is disingenuous in the University, to redefine the University as that which serves the human needs of men and not their destructive and inhuman fears, violence and selfishness. It is a call to rally to withhold the University's "services" from a society tainted deep with moral corruption and callousness, a call to return the University as well as the country to the members rather than the manipulators of society.

It will be said of this report that it sees the evil but ignores the good; that in its ideological fervor it underestimates the extent to which academic freedom and disinterested inquiry prevail; that seeing evil in the University's parts it illogically casts dark suspicion on the whole; that, finally, it is insensitive to the ambiguities and complexities of University life and thus wrongly charges innocent men because their work has been or might be put to evil ends. No doubt there is some truth in these charges. When confronted with great evil it is hard to maintain the disinterested patience of a Medieval scholar with a life-time to get everything in absolutely proper proportions. Vietnamese are dying and blacks are starving.

So there is some truth in such charges, but let us find out how much.

a) On seeing the evil but ignoring the good.

A doctor who concentrated on what was still healthy in a seriously diseased body would be recognized for a fool. We have said that the University is a diseased organ in a diseased body and that this must be understood if either is to be cured. Unlike the now famous military commander in Vietnam who said that he had to destroy a now forgotten and non-existent village to save it, we do not wish to destroy the University to save it. Rather we have here started to show that the disease runs deep through all parts of society and to suggest that a radical cure is needed.

b) On underestimating the extent of academic freedom and disinterested inquiry

There are many sorts of arguments we could advance in response to this charge, but one in particular seems both crucial and at the bottom of all others. To speak of the impor-

tance of academic freedom is to suggest that it is the necessary and sufficient condition for University autonomy and disinterested inquiry. But is this the case? Recently several of us went to a powerful and prestigious professor here. We asked him why there were virtually no studies of American penetration into and hegemony over the affairs of countries in the third world. Recognizing that we were implying bias in the work of American social scientists, he protested that it was just the case that no one had done the work. They had perfect freedom to do so. Pleased with this response we asked if he would help obtain grants for such work. His answer was a flat no. Any such researcher would have to supply his own funds.

The same sort of academic freedom exists for teachers who question the orthodoxy in any discipline. They will be free until they are fired. Clearly this academic freedom is no freedom at all. Men do not need a doctrine of academic freedom to challenge the authority of received thought or social institutions and then be punished or excluded for their efforts.

Such freedom always inheres in man. What men do need a doctrine of academic freedom for is the protection and encouragement of just those who trouble the holy waters of society and academe. The academic freedom of today's academy is too often a freedom to do what you are told or what you can get money for. It is academic freedom in name alone, in form rather than content. And is it not strange, finally, that one hears the invocation of academic freedom when professors are asked to return to their classrooms and to defend the importance and relevance of their work to students, but is seldom if ever heard in negotiations for monies from the government when real pressures are brought to bear by government agencies. It is hard to believe that the government is indifferent to how its money is spent.

Let us say in closing that we do not mean that the appeal to academic freedom is always and everywhere a sham or worse. Here and there one finds exceptions and one must be thankful for them, but unfortunately for every exception there are legions who have been denied funds or fired or both. As long as this is true the exceptions prove only that the rulers value academic freedom as a protective facade.

c) On generalizing from evil in the part to evil in the whole.

Let's put it directly. Are we paranoid? Yes, we probably are a bit paranoid. But does the existence or even the possible existence of some paranoia ipso facto disprove the existence of evil genuinely to be feared as such? It would be a wise tactic, would it not, for an evil ruler to dub his subjects' fear paranoia the better to disarm their resentment without effecting the conditions out of which it was born?

But this is too narrowly argumentative whatever our arguments' merits. There are other reasons for our suspicions. First and foremost is the fact that our data come from many diverse fields and sources. We have been surprised ourselves at the presence of compromising involvement with the government where we expected none or thought the involvement benign rather than cancerous. Second, generally the further we investigate, the more we find or the more clear does it become that we can go no further because things are classified or merely kept quiet to assure the continuance of a steady flow of funds. Finally, of course, there are those big bald facts: a university president and half the budget from the Defense Department, the odious lettering that spells Zellerbach on our Martin Luther King Hall, the corporate Who's Who that comprises the University's Regents. We could, of course, go on indefinitely.

- d) On insensitivity to the possibility that evil may be made of work innocently intended.

This is one of the trickiest and unhappiest matters one faces in doing the sort of inquiry we have started. It is always possible that work done for one reason and out of one set of motives may be used for other reasons and out of different motives. We are also aware that professors and graduate students may do work that serves questionable ends, not because they are evil but just because there is a chance to gain money and prestige by doing such work. No doubt much of the time academics give much less thought to the implications and possible uses of their work than to their own desires for prestige and advancement.

Several things must be said here. First, whether an investigator intends his work to be used for what we feel are evil ends or not, they may be so used, and the investigator is thereby involved, however innocent his original intent. Second, and this we think is the crux of the matter, academic freedom is meaningless or worse if it is not complemented by a serious and dedicated academic responsibility for the products of the intellect. The academic who eschews responsibility for that which he creates has renounced his humanity and accepted the chains of slavery to those who know no scruples in employing his creations. He is a moral cripple, a monster of sorts. Society grants a privileged existence to academics and expects them not only to light the way but also to assume special responsibility in the collective task of guiding and deciding the way. It is not enough in times like ours to plead ignorance of the possible consequences of one's action or possible uses of one's creations. Though perfect foreknowledge and control are impossible, that fact does not relieve one from the obligation to assume that his creations are put to human use.

Those who are doing research in chemical and biological warfare are the most blatant offenders, but no individual, no department, no school, no university and no society can hide from the human responsibility to serve human ends.

Until this University and this society are radically transformed to accept the human responsibility to serve human ends, we must not rest. We must insist and enforce our insistence that changes be made in both the institutional arrangements and the underlying ethos of the University and the society. Support of the TWLF demands represents an obvious and necessary first step in this process, but there are and will be others, many others. The Radical Student Union is now and will in the future be working on these. We welcome everyone in this enterprise whether they work with us or others. What is important is that there is a fundamental job to be done.

AFTERWORD

Before closing we should like to emphasize that the foregoing pamphlet, the product of the Research-Action Project of the Radical Student Union, is conceived as the first report in a continuing study into the interrelation between the University and the society as a whole. We intend in future publications to explore not only how the University is involved in the darkest aspects and activities of American life (as we have started to do above) but also to explore the ways in which that involvement corrupts the University and deadens those inside it. We would appreciate the assistance of anyone who wishes to join us in this endeavor.

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<p>This report deals with the Regents and U.S. corporate capitalism's commandeering of the University of California for their own profit at great social expense. The report shows, for example, how the university is used to develop machinery and techniques for the agricultural industry at no cost to the growers, how the university helps to develop diabolical chemical and biological weapons, and how the social sciences are used to spread and maintain imperialism abroad and to help contain social unrest at home.</p> <p>The report deals with a varied selection of research projects in many areas of the university. The arguments made could be applied equally well to virtually every field of inquiry represented at the university although the application is often nontrivial. The conclusion of the report is that the university has been subverted from within and from without to inhuman ends and that either society must be fundamentally rearranged with an upheaval, at least, in values or the university must be closed and research withheld so that research will not be utilized to increase human suffering beyond its present intolerable level.</p>			

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